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THE
LIFE AND DUTIES
OF
A CITIZEN

BY
HENRY ELLIOT MALDEN

*"Such then is the Constitution which I call good and right, and such is
the good man."—PLATO*

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PREFACE

IT cannot for a moment be pretended that the present book, or any book of a like size, can either give a full account of the Imperial and local government of England, or express half the thoughts which may be profitably directed towards the problems and conditions of government. The object of the writer has been to describe only in outline, and to suggest merely subjects for reflection. A competent teacher will supplement the teaching of any book on such a wide subject from other sources. The *History of England* will be the great reserve of information and storehouse of examples of which he must avail himself.

The various volumes of the "Citizen Series" of Messrs. Macmillan will supply detailed information upon the several departments of public life and social questions; but some of these volumes are a few years old, and consequently a little out of date, owing to the changed conditions of the last ten years. The same partial objection applies to a very useful book, *England, Her People, Pursuits, and Polity*, by Mr. Escott. Large and learned views of the Constitution are afforded by Sir William

Anson's *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, and by Professor Dicey's *Law of the Constitution*, which should, one or the other of them, be studied in connexion with Sir Thomas Erskine May's *Constitutional History*.

Amid the great and useful labours entailed by the duty of keeping the Constitution of a great State and Nation in working order, one of the heaviest and noblest, though least conspicuous, falls upon the teachers whom the State has called upon to instruct its people, that is, itself, in the principles of its work. The task is harder from the difficulty, on the one hand, of understanding such matters without active participation in political life, and from the necessity, on the other hand, of a teacher, if he is to be listened to with respect, separating himself from the too exclusive ties of any political party. The duty of every citizen certainly is not to be a Conservative, nor a Unionist, nor a Liberal, nor a Radical, but to be an Englishman. Though at some particular time he may think that he can perform the duties of an Englishman best in conjunction with one or other of these parties, the duty of which he has to be reminded is a duty which is common to them all.

No Englishman can escape being called by a political name, but if the writer shall succeed in inducing other teachers of political subjects to separate themselves in their teaching, as far as they can, from mere party cries and temporary party aims, he will not have written quite in vain. There is after all a substratum of fact in politics

and economics, established by experience, which no party can refuse to recognize in the long run, just as they must recognize the facts of human nature and the conditions of human life. These historic facts are the proper basis of teaching.

HENRY ELLIOT MALDEN

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INTRODUCTION

WE shall have in the following pages to use the words Citizen, State, and Nation frequently. It will be well to consider what they mean. Citizen is properly a member of a city, a person with a share in the government of a city. But as the first self-governing political communities of which we know much were confined to cities, in Greece and Italy, citizen has come to mean a member of a constitutionally governed political body large or small. We can talk of a citizen of France, or of the United States, or of Belgium. We cannot properly talk of a citizen of Russia nor of China. The Russian or the Chinese is only an inhabitant of his country. So a man born in England is not perhaps a citizen of England, except so far as the Constitution of England has spread to the whole of the British Isles, nor is a man born in Scotland, strictly speaking, a citizen of Scotland. Both these are citizens of the United Kingdom, but natives of England or of Scotland. Citizen is also used in a restricted sense as the citizen of a smaller organized body, as a citizen of London, a citizen of the State of Virginia, one of the United States, or a citizen of the Cape Colony, one of our self-governing colonies.

A State is an independent organized political body.

A Nation is a body of people united by a common language generally, though different languages may be spoken in the same nation, as in Scotland; but a nation

is certainly united by a common history, common feelings, ideas, hopes, and interests, and generally by a supposed common descent.

The whole British empire is a loosely-knit state ; excluding India it is a nation on a large scale. The United Kingdom is one state and united nations. The Austrian empire is made up of two united states, Austria and Hungary, but includes several nations—Germans, Magyars, Czechs, Roumanians, Croats, and Poles. France is both one state and one nation. The most successful and stable states seem from history to be those which include only one nation, or similar and closely united nations. People with the same language, and the same general stock of ideas derived from the same literature, religion, and past history, work harmoniously together in one political body or state. People differing in language, race, religion, and history can sometimes be advantageously held together in one state, especially to protect their independence from powerful neighbours, or to keep the peace among themselves ; but they require to be artificially held together. Such are the Flemings and Walloons of Belgium ; the Germans, Magyars, and others of Austria and Hungary ; the Germans, Burgundians, and Italians of Switzerland ; or the discordant races and religions of India. These different races are held together in the states of Belgium, the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Switzerland, and the Indian empire, respectively. Our chief concern, however, now is with the citizens of the United Kingdom and of the British empire, and with the natives of England in particular ; for though the political government of England, Scotland, and Ireland is one, founded on the Constitution which grew up in England, their local conditions and organization vary somewhat, owing to their past histories being different.

CHAPTER I.

THE NATION AND OUR DUTIES TO IT.

WE are by birth English men or English women. Though we be born north of the Tweed, or among the Welsh mountains, or across St. George's Channel, this is the name to the honours and responsibilities of which we have succeeded. For the name English cannot properly be confined to one tribe among the many who have peopled these islands, but is the name of all who have succeeded to a share in the English Constitution and to the heritage of the world-wide British Empire, which Scots, Irish, Welsh, Northumbrians, East Anglians, Cornishmen, and Kentishmen have helped to build up and defend. We talk of the English Constitution because, though Scotland had a Constitution of its own, this Constitution was partly founded upon that of England, and was finally merged in that of England. The English way of government was the one which finally prevailed in Great Britain and Ireland. We talk of the British Empire because English, Scots, and Irish have made that by their common efforts, and none could have made it alone. The Union Jack is the flag of Great Britain, and it is made up of three flags combined. The red cross on the white ground is for England, the white cross with the arms placed diagonally on a blue ground for Scotland, and the red cross with the arms placed diagonally on a white ground for Ireland.

Where this flag flies—in India, in America, in Africa, in Australia, over the isles of the sea, or over the solitary ship in the northern icefields, or on the rolling waves of the southern ocean—there is the home of Englishmen, and there the duties of Englishmen must be done. Under that flag there is no slavery; no man can be arbitrarily put to death or deprived of liberty. Where it flies, it is a mark or symbol of the rule of law, order, and liberty, and of the presence of Christian civilization. Another flag flies also over the home of the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland—the Royal Standard—which, with its three lions for England, the single red lion for Scotland, and the harp for Ireland, tells the same story as the Union Jack of Union in the British Isles. These parts of the British Isles may, of course, manage their own local affairs in their own way, but the people in them all are equally called by birth to uphold the empire which their fathers have all helped to build. They are equally bound to preserve the constitution of the heart of that great empire, the constitution of these little islands, which by its order and its freedom has made that empire both a possibility and a blessing to the world. We must be proud of our birth.

Of course Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, and many other people have done great things, produced great men and great ideas, and have done some things better than we shall ever do them. But we belong to a race which, with many and grievous failings and great mistakes, has nevertheless succeeded in producing and continuing the best example of combined liberty and order in its government which the world has ever seen, and which, again in spite of many shortcomings, has been foremost in spreading these principles of government throughout the world. All the great countries of Europe, except Russia and Turkey, and

all the countries of America, are constitutionally governed. That is, the people at large have more or less voice in the government, and there are fixed and settled laws and rules, partly or entirely decided upon by the people, in agreement with which the government must be carried on. Now, the Constitutions of all these States, except Switzerland, are more or less closely copied from the Constitution of England. Only in England and Scotland, and in the small country of Switzerland, have there been Constitutional Governments carried on, from age to age continuously, for many hundred years. Even in Switzerland there was a break in the history of the Constitution when the French conquered the country. Our Parliament has been fitly called the Mother of Parliaments. When the great country of the United States separated from us, more than a hundred years ago, her wise statesmen did not attempt to found a completely new kind of Constitution ; but being Englishmen, brought up under English laws, they did their best to adapt the English Constitution and laws to the changed conditions in which they found themselves. So now their Republican Constitution, which has had great effects in shaping other Constitutions in America, preserves some features of our old Constitution which we have modified here since the time of separation.

We have therefore something to be proud of. We have a right by birth to a share in working that Constitution which has been the pattern to the civilized world. It is not perfect ; no human arrangements are ; but it is good, and it is our duty to keep it good, and to make it better. So we should be proud of our birth-right.

Being proud of our country and of our Constitution does not mean sitting down to admire it, nor shouting out praises

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of it, nor marching in procession to its honour and glory and our own. It means work.

We are proud of our work when we turn out a job well done. We are proud of our gardens when they look beautiful with flowers, or yield good fruit. You girls are proud of your handiwork when the room is neat and clean, when the hearth is cheerful, and a good tea of your preparing is ready for your father on his return from his labour. Yes, for we have worked for these things, and our pride in them will make us work to keep them up to their present standard, or to make them even better. So it is with greater matters too. Good laws and a good government, a great trade and a great empire, cannot go on of themselves. Everybody ought to work at them, and everybody must work at them if they are to be kept up to their best standard of excellence.

A responsibility lies upon us all to do our little part well. It is very little that any one of us can do, but the irresistible waves that toss the great ships like toys upon their breasts are made up of little drops of water, and the British empire is worked by Tom, Bill, and Harry doing the duty which lies before them, and by Jane, Lizzie, and Mary smoothing some rough places in that duty, and making that home-life which lies at the bottom of all the greatness of the empire.

A responsibility lies upon us to defend and make better that which we have received from our fathers. How often does a young man or woman going out into the world think of the old folks at home. How much good work is done, and how much evil is avoided, under the influence of the thought of the good name father always bore, a name which his son or daughter will never bring to shame if they can help it. As Englishmen, we have that good name to

keep in honour, that glorious record of the past, of which we know something, and of which we can never learn too much, to hand on unsullied to our children. Some people do not like the idea of responsibilities ; they like to imagine that no one depends upon them, and that they are not to be held accountable if they choose to be idle and careless, and to just scrape along through life doing no actual mischief to their neighbours. It is a poor and selfish view of life, and it is a view founded upon a mistake. Responsibilities which come to us by birth and by the force of circumstances cannot be avoided by saying that we do not want them. If we choose to go without nourishing food our bodies will suffer ; if we choose to walk about with our eyes shut we shall fall over something. So if we neglect the nourishment of the mental and moral faculties which we have they will decay, and we shall become worse men ; if we shut our eyes to duties which lie in our path we shall find in them an occasion of falling. If the majority of Englishmen were to refuse to do their duty, to neglect the means by which their country has been made great and free in the past, to choose to become lazy, extravagant, tyrannical, careless of the rights of their neighbours, careless of the common interest, then the government of England would become corrupt and weak, the empire would be lost, trade would disappear, and those who might be past feeling shame and disgrace would be found out by what they must feel, universal distress beyond the experience of any bad times that any of us have known. Great empires, the Roman Empire, for instance, have lost their liberty, and finally been destroyed, after terrible physical sufferings among their people, chiefly because the majority of their citizens lost the habit of trying to do their duty.

Great nations are like a human body. They are not

machines put together by some clever man. Artificial states there have been, like the great Napoleon's empire, which depended for their existence upon one able man ; but such states, like machines, get out of order, and fail to work when the able man is not there to turn on and regulate the steam. Without him they either stop or blow up. A great self-governing nation is an organism, that is a natural body which has grown into its present state, and is always growing or decaying ; or rather, like our natural bodies, always growing and decaying, renewing and changing its parts. Each part is alive, and each part depends upon the others. All have not the same functions, but all are equally necessary for the good health of the whole, and the whole must be kept in activity to retain good health. Doctors tell us that by persistent disuse of any one of our functions we may lose the power of ever using it. The fish in the lake underground, in the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky, have lost their eyes from always living in the dark. So men who disregard justice and honesty and the responsibilities of power may lose all sense of justice, and of honesty, and of duty. It is needless to say that the state is doomed to ruin, and deserves ruin, in which such men are too numerous.

Once the Roman Republic, in its great days, was confronted by a terrible enemy, Hannibal the Carthaginian, who defeated their armies, slew their generals, and marched up and down Italy wasting the Romans' farms, none daring to meet him in a pitched battle any longer. Yet the Senate of Rome were determined not to give in ; they were fighting, they knew, for their literal existence as a people. But the taxes necessary to provide means for the war were very heavy, and some of the people murmured that they could not pay. Then one of the Senators arose and said, "Let

us freely give to the state all our gold and silver." The Senators did so; they gave all, and the people followed their example, and brought all they could. The state was saved, and the Romans pulled through at last victorious in the war.

Once the Persians came with myriads of men to conquer Greece. The Athenians saw that the only chance for the common safety was to abandon their city, and to put all their available men on board the fleet. So they gave up fields, houses, and temples to be wasted and burnt by the Persians, sent their women and children to depend upon the charity of their neighbours, manned their ships with all their men, and beat the Persian fleet at Salamis, and delivered Greece.

We are not likely to be called upon to make such sacrifices, but we have more to fight for. England has a more glorious past, and far greater possibilities of benefiting the world in the future, than could then be claimed by either Rome or Athens. We are not called upon to make such a brilliant and striking sacrifice, but we are called upon to do what is in some respects harder, to do trivial duties day by day, to subjugate ourselves, to put on one side prejudices and greediness, and laziness and selfishness, while we act the part, not of heroes whom the world will admire, but of honest men and citizens in a great State which the world shall admire, though it never knows of our individual existence at all.

CHAPTER II.

THE GROWTH OF THE CONSTITUTION.

THE Constitution of the United Kingdom has grown into its present condition. This Constitutional Government is vested in the Crown in Parliament. Parliament is supposed to represent the three Estates of the Realm, that is the Estate Spiritual, or Clergy; the Lords Temporal, or Lay Lords; and the Commons. The Spirituality, as it was called, is now only represented by the Bishops in Parliament. The Crown is not an Estate of the Realm. The name Commons has nothing to do with the word in its modern sense of *common* or *inferior*. It meant originally the *Communitas*, which is the Latin word for the Corporate Body of the whole people. Not the people taken one by one, but the people organized into self-governing bodies, the popular governments of towns and counties. These, through their representatives, made up the Parliament.

The Acts of Parliament are the Law of the Land, and are made by the joint action of the Crown, of the House of Lords, and of the House of Commons; but the House of Commons is now the real power of these three. When we come to think of it we shall see that there must always be *one* supreme power if any order is to be kept at all. If two or more equal powers stand side by side, and they disagree about what has to be done, what can they do

except leave things undone, or fight it out to see which is to settle the way of their doing? At home in his own house the father of a family is master. This does not mean that he is never to listen to what his wife and children say, but it means that his is the final voice and authority which, after advice and consultation, decides how things are to be done. So in a State, which is a household on a large scale, there must be some final determining power. This power in England is to be found in the House of Commons, which is elected by the nation for a limited time, and is responsible to the nation for the proper management of its affairs. If its members fail to satisfy the nation it is not necessary to punish them, but they are removed from the House at the next election. As shortly and simply as possible we must explain how this government by Crown, Lords, and Commons grew up, and how the House of Commons came to have the leading share in it.

Our early ancestors, during what used incorrectly to be called the period of the Heptarchy, were governed by many kings, who ruled over their many tribes for long before these were united in one kingdom. All primitive people are ruled by kings, under one name or another. A poet has said,

"In seasons of great peril
'T is good that one bear sway."

This is of course true, and primitive people are always living in seasons of great peril, for they are always either at war with their near neighbours, or expecting war with them. The kings were war-chiefs, and had of course to be grown men, capable of leading the people in war. They were therefore chosen for personal fitness, but at the same time there were royal families out of which they were

chosen. These families asserted their descent from the gods, and were no doubt really the descendants of former great chiefs, who after the manner of most heathen people were worshipped as gods after their deaths.

But the earliest English kings, of whom we know anything, were limited monarchs. They ruled by the advice of the chiefs and elders of the people, and sometimes their decisions were laid before meetings of all the people for approval, though probably the people were expected only to approve, not to disapprove. But there were ancient rights and customs, sanctified by religion, which the kings could only disregard at their peril. When Christianity was adopted there were rules of Christian morality and law also which had to be observed. Twice at least in our early history kings were set aside for misrule by the chiefs—once in Wessex, in the South of England; and once in Northumbria, in the North.

But as the kingdoms were gradually united under fewer powerful kings, when the many were reduced to seven or eight, and when these were reduced to three, and the three at last to one, the power of the kings grew. The king of a large kingdom was to most of his people an unseen power, not like the king of a county only, whom many of his people saw often. The union of the kingdoms was accomplished by great wars, especially with the Danes, who destroyed many smaller kingdoms, but were at last themselves conquered by the kings of Wessex, that is the South of England. These wars raised the king's importance, gave him the opportunity of rewarding personal followers by grants of conquered land, and gave him Welsh princes, and Scotch and Danish kings, as subordinate rulers, who called him their lord. There was too a remarkable succession of very able men among the West Saxon kings

—Egbert, his son Ethelwulf, his son Alfred, his son Edward, his sons Ethelstan and Edmund and Edred, and Edmund's son Edgar, who were worthy founders of the unity and greatness of England. They won their position by hard work and hard fighting, and by caring for the interests of their people in education, religion, and trade. Still the greatest of these kings was always surrounded by his Witan, or Council of Wise Men, the representative of the old assembly of the chiefs. The people at large still met to manage their local affairs, and of this we shall speak presently. The Witan was a sort of House of Lords, composed of warriors, bishops, and any great men, and sometimes women, whom the king chose to summon to it. Some men were so great that he could not help summoning them, the Archbishops for instance, and the great Aldermen who led the military force of the counties; but it was not an elected assembly, nor one exclusively composed of people who had a right to be there without the king's summons. Election was then an unknown practice, except in some assemblies of the church, and in some small local assemblies. Probably men were not yet sufficiently civilized or educated for election on a large scale to be possible. If tried it would only have meant that the same men who sat in the Witan already would have caused themselves to be elected. We shall find in politics that it is when men are getting fit for power, when they have real knowledge and opinions about public affairs, that then they begin to exercise it. If they are given power before they are fit for it they throw it away again by submitting to some master. A so-called popular government, established among people who do not know how to govern, or who will not take the trouble to govern, always ends in a kind of Despotism by a Dictator, President, or Popular Leader; or in the govern-

ment by a small knot of political adventurers, as in some South American Republics at the present day, where popular Governments have been set up among lazy, disorderly, and ill-educated people.

Yet there was a weak point in this government because of its unrepresentative character. The people who managed their own affairs in their parishes, hundreds, and counties cared about them, but knew nothing and cared little about the interests of the whole country. Also the central government had no special connexion with the local government, nor hold upon local support. The country had not really grown together, but was only held together by the personal vigour of some kings. Consequently when a weak king—Ethelred the Unready—succeeded, the country was conquered by the Danes. Subsequently this same concern for local over general affairs was the chief reason why William of Normandy was able to master the country. He never had to face a really well-concerted national and general resistance.

Do we think that these things have nothing to do with the duties of a citizen now-a-days? Really they have a great deal to do with them. If in place of parishes and counties we put trades, classes, or other smaller interests, is there no fear of citizens now consulting the supposed interests of these and not of the country? Nay more, we may say that the small district which we often think of most is this island, and the big country in which its interests are really bound up is an empire which reaches round the world, which is sometimes in danger of being forgotten by people whose view of politics is bounded by the limits of the constituency in which they have a vote, or by the interests of the trade in which they are employed.

CHAPTER III.

GROWTH OF THE CONSTITUTION

(Continued).

THE greatest effect of the Norman Conquest was that it welded the whole country together by force. The first three Norman kings, men of strong character and various abilities, were practically despotic masters. They had a great Council, composed of the great barons who held land from the king, and of the bishops who also held land from him, but they ruled according to their own will. Our English writers still call this Council the Witan, but the tenure of land from the king became the real qualification for a seat in it. But the Norman kings began to organize an Executive Government, that is, a system of government under ministers, who should execute the king's laws in all parts of the country, and be responsible to the king. They made no deliberate attempt to alter the local government, but sent royal officers to superintend it in the counties and hundreds. They were no doubt very tyrannical, but they bound the whole country together, and taught all that they had a common interest in a common government, if only a common interest in mitigating its oppression.

Henry II. completed this work. He gave the people a more direct interest in the government by making use of bodies of men, something like jurymen, who had to make

declaration on oath concerning offences done in their own neighbourhood, and concerning the amount of money due to the Crown from their neighbours. He chose anyone who was suitable to do his work—Normans, French, English, Flemings, churchmen or laymen, and all these living in England got a common interest in England, and a sort of education in a legal form of government. Consequently, when John set all laws at defiance, these men and their sons rose up against him, and, with the support of most of the people, forced upon him the Magna Charta, or Great Charter of Liberties, by which the legal government which Henry II. had imposed at his own will was guaranteed, with modifications, by a treaty as it were between the king and the whole people. Among many stipulations which are now out of date, it contained the very important conditions that no man was to be tried or punished except by the law of the land, and that no money was to be paid to the king, except certain regular dues which were limited, save by the consent of the Great Council. The Great Council too was bound to be summoned thrice a year.

Something like a House of Lords, comprising the chief men in every county and the chief clergy in every diocese, was thus put upon a legal and permanent foundation. This was in A.D. 1215.

But during the struggle for the Charter both king and barons had called some of the smaller landowners together for consultation. Under Henry III., when a perpetual struggle was going on to get the Charter observed, it became the regular practice to call up these *Knights of the Shire*, as they were named, to the Great Council, and the Council took the name of Parliament, or The Talking Assembly, which it has thoroughly deserved up to our own

day. Both the thing and the name existed before this in the provinces in the south of France, over which our kings then ruled. The Knights of the Shire were chosen in the assembly of the people in each county.

The struggle to secure good government at last resulted in civil war. De Montfort, a foreigner who had succeeded to the earldom of Leicester, and had made England his home, headed the barons against the king. When he had won the victory he caused the king to call a Parliament, to which the chief cities and towns were summoned to send representatives, A.D. 1265. In fact, in this thirteenth century, civilization was rapidly advancing, and men were able more wisely to choose representatives, and the representatives were more to be trusted to do their duty, than would have been the case earlier.

A certain level of civilization, education, and morality must be reached before men are able to choose others to govern, and before those chosen can be trusted to study the advantage of others, and not merely their own. The whole ancient world, before Christianity was preached, never tried representative government; and with all their civilization were never probably moral enough to have tried it safely. Men must learn to rule themselves individually before they can rule themselves collectively at all, or rule others well. The first and most important lessons of the citizen, at all times, are to be learnt at home and at school, and are founded on individual character.

When Edward I. became king he continued and extended the system of representation. He was busy in law-making, and in reforming the administration of justice, and to gain information he resorted to the plan of consulting the representatives of various classes—lawyers, merchants, knights of the shire, citizens, and burgesses. To be consulted

upon matters of government is the next thing to having influence over the decision of questions, and again we shall see that this influence came naturally when these classes had useful advice to give. They were fit for some self-government, and so they got it, and kept it. Moreover, Edward was engaged in wars and wanted money. We must talk presently about taxes, but we will say here that the kings then had certain regular dues from the landholders who held land under them; certain fixed dues from the counties, and the power of raising additional sums in war time, by the consent of the Great Council, or by agreement with different classes and places. Edward assembled representatives of all classes and places together to give him money. So the Parliament was finally constituted in A.D. 1295, composed of the great landholders under the crown, both lay and ecclesiastic, the knights of the shires (two from each), four citizens of London, and two citizens or burgesses from the other chief cities and boroughs. The members were elected by the popular assembly, sometimes larger sometimes smaller, which formed the popular governing body of each place.* The central Parliament was therefore a collection of the representatives of the local government. Men would be trained first in their smaller local affairs before being consulted by the king on national affairs. We may observe too that these men were called together because they had one real element of power. They were rich, they had prospered in business, and therefore could support the Government.

* Under the Plantagenet kings however the formal election of borough members took place in the County Court, a delegation of townsmen declaring their choice to the Sheriff. In default of this the Sheriff sometimes caused the County Court to elect borough members. The franchise, or the right of giving votes, was not made the same in all towns till 1832.

They were not given power because of any theory, but because they proved themselves practically useful. They had constitutional power because they were worthy of it.

For long after Edward I. the kings were engaged in wars, for their rights nominally in France and Scotland. It is often hard to find the king's rights, but it is often easy to see the people's interest in these wars. The security and extension of English trade were involved in them.

But these wars cost money, which could only be voted by Parliament. The chief landowners paid money in one way, the towns in another, and therefore the Parliament separated into Two Houses, the Lords and Commons. The greater ecclesiastics, holding land of the king, sat and voted money with the barons; the knights of the shires sat and voted money with the representatives of the towns, though not always to the same amount. The payments of this lower house, the House of Commons, were more important, and consequently the House itself became more important. It was still only consulted in the making of laws, but its consent was more and more necessary, and it claimed the right of punishing the king's ministers for bad government. At last, in 1399, the Two Houses deposed the king, Richard II., and recognised the claim of Henry IV. to reign instead.

They, in effect, made him a parliamentary sovereign, with a title depending upon the consent of Parliament, and bound to rule according to its wishes. Under his dynasty they obtained therefore the undoubted right of making the laws, the king of course concurring in them.

Now, however, we come to a temporary decadence of Parliament. The long wars with France and other causes had lowered the standard of morality. Men were more

selfish, irreligious, and disorderly than they had been. Especially the great men who sat in Parliament. Parliament became a less respectable and trustworthy body. Its meeting was sometimes the signal for disorder. Once it became necessary to forbid men to bring armed followers to the place of meeting, and consequently, though they laid aside their swords, they brought trains of servants armed with sticks and with their long sleeves full of stones. Naturally respect for Parliament decreased, and the power of Parliament with it. The Civil Wars of the Roses ensued, and Parliamentary Government became a name for a form of disorder.

After these wars the English monarchy, under the Yorkist and Tudor sovereigns, became something like a despotism again, ruling with the aid of a small council of trustworthy and experienced advisers and ministers. The lower and middle classes were glad to have it so, while national independence was defended, domestic order preserved, and trade allowed to prosper. Practical English people preferred the ends of good government, order, and security to a more popularly-sounding form which had ceased to secure those ends.

Here again there is matter for reflection. A modern House of Commons is not likely to behave as badly as the Lancastrian Parliaments did, nor like the Scotch Parliament of 1520, which ended in a pitched battle in the streets of Edinburgh; but it may, by failing to do business and by disorder, forfeit respect and power, which latter will fall into the hands of ministers more really depending upon political associations in the country than upon Parliament. The control of a popular leader domineering over the House of Commons, and supported by political associations, and by popular meetings convened by these

associations, may be preferred by some as a more popular form of government; but it is not the Parliamentary government under which England has grown free, prosperous, and powerful. It is doubtful if it is really a more popular form of government, for the members of political clubs are not freely elected to govern the country, but to a great extent appoint themselves and each other, yet through their organization can practically override the opinions of the unorganized mass of electors, and can put their views and candidates forward as if they were those spontaneously preferred by all. The real strength of Parliamentary government lies in the opportunities it gives of discussion and mutual influence among members who feel that they are responsible to the whole country, not to the Primrose League or to the Caucus. The same thing holds good of smaller elected bodies. Their real influence lies in the hands of their members. If they do their work well and fairly they will have power; if they lose their self-respect, and are violent and foolish, no number of laws written on paper saying that they are to be powerful will really keep them powerful when they have ceased to be respected. Every one of us, as citizens, must lay these things to heart, and be ourselves as well instructed in public business as we can be, and train ourselves in moderation, sympathy, and wisdom, so as to preserve the whole fabric of our self-government intact in real vigour.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GROWTH OF THE CONSTITUTION

(Continued).

THE Tudor sovereigns were engaged in facing great questions, in religion and foreign politics especially, the details of which belong to English history, and found it advisable to assemble Parliament again more frequently, both for advice and money. The growth of other strong monarchies in Europe, and the interference of England under Cardinal Wolsey, in Henry the Eighth's reign, in foreign affairs, led to a constant demand for money, which could only be raised in sufficient quantities through Parliament. The Tudor sovereigns, however masterful and despotic they might be in domestic affairs, preferred to work their will through the Parliament. Henry VIII., by suppressing the Abbeys, whose mitred Abbots had sat in the House of Lords, and by becoming master of the Church, so that he could more completely control the Bishops, made the lay lords more numerous and important than the ecclesiastical lords in Parliament. The lay lords were many of them newly-created peers, enriched by the king, and depending upon him, and the Tudor sovereigns deliberately created rotten boroughs to send nominees of their own to the House of Commons. These rotten boroughs were then a source of strength to the Crown; subsequently they became a source of strength to the

landed aristocracy. They are now abolished ; but if they existed, they would probably be a source of strength to the Liquor Trade, or to its opponents, or to some other clique, or to some political association or other, as small boroughs now in Ireland are secured by the priests or the National League. Interests which are really strong have always used the forms of the Constitution to increase their power. But under the Tudors Parliament could not be continually consulted without recovering a sense of its own importance. The people who sat in Parliament were also improving again. Good education was making rapid strides among them. The merchants and landed gentry were becoming richer ; they and the lawyers were studying questions of law and politics, and growing again to have valuable opinions of their own. At the same time sovereigns like the masterful, clear-sighted, and, in spite of his character, popular Henry VIII., and the sagacious Elizabeth, were succeeded by the learned pedant James I., who was a very poor man of business, and by Charles I., who was a careful man of business, and would have made a good solicitor, but was a very unwise man, with no capacity for leading a nation. Consequently when these kings mismanaged public affairs, their Parliaments, composed now of much better quality than formerly, wanted to mend matters, and to do this they claimed the old rights and powers which had belonged to Parliament in past times. These they obtained fully by 1641, because they deserved to have them, and could use them with effect. But religious and personal quarrels intervened, and civil war again broke out. Two-thirds of the House of Commons and one-third of the House of Lords, was arrayed against the king with one-third of the Commons and two-thirds of the Lords.

Never were the consequences of a resort to violence more full of warning. Many men on both sides had begun the war with the best intentions. After fearful suffering, not only was the king beheaded, but the laws were trodden down, the Parliament was turned out of doors, and the liberties of Englishmen lay at the feet of a victorious soldier. It was better luck than we deserved that that soldier was so moderate and wise a ruler as Cromwell. When he died men were tired of military rule or anarchy, and king and Parliament were restored together in A.D. 1660.

It is possible that a resort to force may sometimes be necessary in the affairs of a nation; but it is as well to remember that a resort to force means giving the upper hand to force, to material strength, and not to argument, law, or justice. Consequently no resort to force or revolution, as it is usually called, has ever ended according to the wishes and hopes of the most moderate, wise, and just people who took part in it at first. In nine cases out of ten, whether nominally successful or repressed, it has resulted in the predominance of military power.

In England we escaped this in 1660 by the unanimity with which the nation returned to the old form of government, with the rights of Parliament established as they had been before the civil war broke out.

Henceforth Parliament had to be considered. Charles II. and James II. tried to cheat it, to bribe it, to get round it in one way or another, but they could not go on long without it. Those of us who go to church may observe that in the Litany, drawn up in English under Henry VIII., there is no petition for Parliament, nor is there in the morning and evening prayers as altered under Elizabeth. But a prayer for the High Court of Parliament is used

there, added in 1662. It is a mark of the importance which it had gained by that time.

Under Charles II. Parliament continually controlled the royal policy, and called to account and punished royal ministers whose proceedings it disliked.

The government of James II. becoming unpopular, chiefly on account of his religious policy, William of Orange was invited over with an army. Fortunately James ran away; his army was not required to fight, and a change of government was managed without a civil war. In Scotland, where there was some fighting, this revolution left some bad results, in spite of its generally beneficial character. In Ireland, where there was a violent civil war, it left as many bad results as good. We again see that good political results are seldom attained by violence.

In England the Bill of Rights, passed 1689, put the Parliament in a position of greater power. Its old rights and privileges of free debate were confirmed, all power of suspending and practically altering the law without the consent of Parliament was taken away from the Crown, and above all by this Act, and by the Act of Settlement, 1701, the succession to the Crown was fixed, but made conditional upon observing certain rules laid down by Parliament. The Parliament, and not the Crown, was made the chief power in the State. For Parliament henceforward met every year of necessity, to vote money for the public service which it appropriated to certain fixed purposes, and to pass a bill to be in force a year only, to maintain the discipline of the standing army, which our increased concern in foreign affairs obliged us to keep up. Yet the ministers of the Crown were not yet exclusively chosen from the party which had the majority in the House of Commons, and indeed for a short time were

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forbidden, by the Act of Settlement, to sit in the House of Commons at all. In the reign of Queen Anne, a worthy woman of small capacity, the influence of her ministers, who sat in the two Houses, increased. George I. could not speak English, and therefore gave up the practice of presiding in the Councils of his ministers, who became more and more responsible to the two Houses, in whose hands the real force of government therefore lay.

CHAPTER V.

THE ERA OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

FOR a long time after the Revolution of 1688 it was a common assumption with most political writers that the British Constitution was nearly perfect. This was probably because few other States had any Constitution at all. As a fact the British Constitution was constructed so as to exclude large classes from political influence, and was open to some serious objections, notably on the ground of the influence of corruption and self-seeking upon the Government.

During the last century the House of Commons became less thoroughly representative of the nation. New towns were beginning to grow in importance, but did not return members, and old places which did return members decayed, and their members were really returned by the landowner of the neighbourhood. The Scotch members, who were added to the House of Commons by the union with Scotland, 1707, were all returned by very small constituencies indeed. Public life was also very corrupt, and there was much direct buying of votes and seats. The House of Commons, which voted the money for the public service, decided the fate of ministries and the direction of legislation ; but some members of the House of Lords practically commanded so many seats in the House of Commons that their influence was very great. England was in fact under

an aristocratic government, composed of large landowners and some commercial men of position.

This had some good effects though many drawbacks. It contributed to the stability of government, and to the continuity of policy, when violent popular changes might have overthrown not only the ministry but the dynasty, and the whole settlement made by the Revolution of 1688. Sir Robert Walpole, as Prime Minister under George II., carried out a wise policy of peace and financial reform, which would probably have been put an end to by really popular votes, if such could have been given, long before it was reversed. Popular opinion outside the House of Commons helped to overthrow him at last, and landed the country in great difficulties in consequence. For popular opinion has power even if it is not directly represented. William Pitt, the great Commoner, deliberately appealed to popular opinion outside the circles influenced by the House of Lords and the rich Commoners. Strong popular opinions, wise or foolish, are sure to influence the Government of a country, even if that Government directly represents only a limited number of people; for, after all, men are *men*, and those who live in the same country, with the same society about them, and the same history behind them, are likely in the long run to agree in more points than those upon which they disagree, and are all subject to the influence of a really widely-spread popular opinion.

George III. tried successfully for a time to raise the influence of the Crown by relying on public opinion outside Parliament. His minister, William Pitt the younger, did the same, and won over the constituencies to support himself and the king. The accident that George III. went out of his mind, and that his son the Prince Regent,

afterwards George IV., was of so disreputable a character as to command no respect, raised the influence of the minister, with the country behind him, and lessened that of the Crown. But the general reason for the long-continued power of an unrepresentative Parliament, in the last century and the beginning of this, was the old and universal reason, that with all their faults they deserved success. The country prospered on the whole. A succession of wars, costly indeed, but not yet felt to be too costly, gave us the superiority at sea over France and Spain, gave us the supreme share in the world's commerce, ousted the French from North America and from India, and finally carried us successfully through the tremendous life and death struggle with Napoleon, in which we appeared not only as the defenders of our own commercial supremacy, but as the champions of Europe against a military despotism. The one conspicuous failure, the loss of the American colonies, told against the influence of the king, who had been specially interested in that war. The labouring classes were well off during the greater part of the last century. Wages were pretty good, and food was fairly cheap. The great troubles of the poor did not begin till the latter part of the century.

The final struggle however with revolutionary France and Napoleon made a great difference. We should have been quite ruined by being beaten; we were nearly ruined though we won.

The country was left in great distress. The condition of the poor, of the farmers, of our manufacturing interests and commerce, all engaged the attention of Government, but it was evident were not understood, and were not permanently benefited by the efforts to relieve them. The ruling class were making a failure of ruling. Moreover, a

new class had risen in importance. Great manufacturing towns had come into existence; a very numerous, rich, well-educated middle class of trading people had been created. Not only the workpeople, but the shopkeepers and the rich manufacturers themselves, and the increasing professional men, doctors, lawyers, literary men, were very insufficiently represented in Parliament. Parliament as it existed shewed itself incapable of coping with the difficulties of the country, and consequently it was reformed by the great Reform Bill of 1832. The franchise was lowered, and seats were taken away from decayed places and given to populous towns and to counties. The new ruling class did their duty pretty well. The Whig Ministry after 1832 and the Conservative Government of Sir Robert Peel carried many very useful measures, and immensely increased the general confidence of all people in the capacity and good intentions of the Government. The House of Commons was now freed from the direct influence of the House of Lords in the election of its members, and was the envy and model of all foreign constitutionally-governed States.

But the call for further reform in it continued. The impulse of reform in legislation set on foot in 1832 began to slacken. England was probably never better governed than it was under Sir Robert Peel, but for twenty years after the fall of Sir Robert Peel, in 1847, neither the foreign nor domestic administration of affairs was very able. The middle class, who had a preponderating voice in elections, were not very keenly alive to their responsibilities, and in some of the smaller boroughs corruption certainly existed. The very rapid strides of education; the circulation of newspapers, which became so much greater after the repeal of the paper duty in 1861; the increase of railways, which

enabled members of the House of Commons to constantly meet their constituents and other inhabitants of the places which they represented in public meetings, or to make speeches in other parts of the country, while not relaxing their attendance at Westminster, led to a general interest in politics. A real knowledge of public affairs was spread abroad which called for the giving of votes to those whose grandfathers could not have used votes with intelligence, or with safety to others or to themselves. So the Reform Bills of 1867 and 1884-5 extended the franchise to all men of any education and ability who cared to get it, and again redistributed seats, so as to give all parts of the country a fairly equal share in returning members. Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, however, still return more members in proportion to their numbers than the rest of the kingdom, on the ground that they are further from the centre of government, and from the rather needless fear, in the case of one at least, that they are likely to be overlooked.

And here we may pause for a moment to speak of the right of voting. It is not a natural right, it is a feature of a highly artificial system of government, conferred by the consent of others. Every man may be said to have a natural right to have his own way, and manage his own affairs. But in a civilized country every man's affairs are also the affairs of someone else. So they must manage them by agreement. A man has a natural right to say "I want to do so and so myself." But Tom and Harry have no natural right to vote that Dick shall do so and so. They have naturally only the right of the stronger, which is not right at all, but force. But as using this would obviously end in confusion and loss all round, devices like voting and returning representatives to act for us, and

taking the voice of the majority, have been gradually evolved by the agreement of wise men. 4482

Into this circle of wise men the whole people, practically, of this country have won their way. If we have followed this description of how they have won it we shall see that it is because they have become worthy of winning it. It is our duty to continue to prove ourselves worthy, and to make ourselves more worthy, for there is no finality about it. We have always something to learn. And we always are acting for others as well as for ourselves. If every grown man and woman in this country—paupers, tramps, drunkards, lunatics—had votes, and all agreed together, yet we should still be ruling for others besides ourselves. Not only for people all over the world, whom our action must influence, but for the most important part of our own population, the children who in thirty years will have superseded us, and who must be immensely helped or hampered by the arrangements which we hand down to them. One chief duty of a citizen is to study history. It will shew him what a very small space one generation occupies in a continuous story, but how very much each generation is influenced by what it has received from the past, and how much therefore it will influence what is to come in the future. Looking at the way in which attention to duty has had its reward, and at the vast improvement in the general condition of mankind, which has already taken place slowly, history should make us hopeful, but patient, and very careful of our responsibilities. History tells us of no change for the better unaccompanied by suffering or by some, at least temporary, drawbacks; and it tells us of no permanent good ever done without thought, and in a hurry. Short cuts to the Promised Land have always landed pilgrims in the Slough of Despond.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE Government of England then has thus come to be conducted by Parliament, or in correct constitutional language, by the "Crown in Parliament." The Crown in Parliament can do everything which is not a naturally impossible thing to be done. It cannot make two and two come to five, it cannot make the idle and vicious prosperous and happy, but theoretically an Act of Parliament can take away anybody's life or property ; it can even abolish Parliament itself, or any part of Parliament. There is no written Constitution of England which cannot be changed by an ordinary Act of Parliament. Many countries, the United States and Belgium for instance, have fundamental laws which cannot be altered by the ordinary means. These fundamental laws had to be established because the Constitutions of these countries came into existence at one moment, without a force of immemorial tradition and practice existing to keep them steady-going and prudent. Our whole Government depends upon votes in Parliament, and really upon votes in the House of Commons, so that it is doubly necessary with us that this House should be carefully chosen and checked by devices which enable it to think twice about what it is doing. We will try and see what this most elaborate and

most powerful form of government really is and does. The voice of the people at large speaks through Parliament. Really popular government is best secured in this way, for the people at large cannot debate, in an assembly of even a thousand people discussion would be impossible, much more among many thousands. Orderly popular government, prepared to act on reason and not on impulse, must speak through a limited number of representatives.

The members of the House of Commons are elected to represent, that is, to speak for and to act for the various towns, parts of towns, and county districts of England, Scotland, and Ireland. When Parliament has been dissolved, or when a chance vacancy occurs in any one of these constituencies, one, two, or more men offer themselves as candidates for the *seat*, as it is called. If only one candidate offers himself, he is duly nominated by some of the electors, and no other appearing to dispute the seat with him, he is declared to be elected. But more generally two candidates offer themselves, and then, both being nominated, a day is fixed for the polling, which is to decide between them. But before being nominated every candidate is obliged to put down a sum of money to cover the necessary expenses of the election. This is done to prevent foolish people who merely want to advertise themselves from coming forward as candidates. It can never hinder any man from becoming a candidate who has any chance of being elected. If he has not the money himself, a man who is really acceptable to a large number of the electors can always have the money found for him. When the day of polling comes polling-stations are erected in different parts of the district, and all electors whose names are entered in a register are given numbers, which are written against their names on the register. By this means

their names are readily found on a copy of the register in each polling-place, and when it is found that they are duly registered electors they are given a stamped ballot paper with the names of the candidates upon it, arranged in alphabetical order, and they put a cross **X** against the name of the candidate whom they prefer. Then, having put this mark on the paper, in a compartment so built that no one can see them do it, they hand the paper, folded, to the person in charge of the polling-place, shew the stamp on the back, and then the voter puts it, still folded, into a box. At the end of the day the papers are counted, and the man who has most marks against his name is declared to be elected.

This is a specimen of a voting paper. The voter on this paper has voted for Mr. Short, the other candidate for whom he has not voted, being Mr. Codlin. If any mark

CODLIN, B.	
SHORT, M.	X

besides the **X** is put upon the paper, or if two crosses **XX** are put upon the paper, the vote does not count at all. No one can tell how you vote, unless you choose to tell them. But if an election is disputed, two judges, trying an election, can make an order for ballot papers to be looked at by themselves, or the House of Commons can give such an order. The ballot papers are torn out of a book, with counterfoils like a cheque book. There is a number on the paper and on the counterfoil, and every voter has also a number on the register, and this number

is put on the counterfoil too. But after the ballot papers have been checked by the counterfoils, the latter are sealed up and sent to London, never to be opened except on an order by two judges, or by the House of Commons as above, and at the end of twelve months they are destroyed. They are kept for a time in case the judges should wish to compare them with the ballot papers in the case of a disputed election. This secret voting is called voting by ballot, and is resorted to in order to prevent bribery and intimidation. It is no use paying a man for his vote when you cannot tell after all how he gives it, and it is no use threatening him with bad consequences if he votes in a certain way, if you cannot find out whether he has done so or not. There is a great deal to be said for a man having what is called the courage of his opinions, and voting openly for the man whom he prefers in the face of all the world; but since the ballot is the law we must keep it in spirit as well as in the letter. It is against the spirit of the law to ask a man how he has voted. We should never do it. If he is a weak man, if he is afraid that his fellow-workmen, or his employer, or the man to whom he owes money perhaps, will disapprove of his vote, he is tempted to tell a lie. It is better not to ask a man beforehand how he is going to vote; it sometimes amounts to a kind of pressure upon him to vote in a certain way. If the law could prevent what is called canvassing, we should have more independent voting, and people who really neither knew nor cared about the matter would often not vote at all. But it is impossible probably to prevent canvassing, and the law should never try and do even good things when it is certain that it will fail to do them. Such action only brings the law into contempt. But if a man thinks that he knows more about politics, or about the candidates, than his neighbours, there is no harm in his

trying to instruct his neighbours beforehand. Giving a vote is a very solemn responsibility. There is no assembly on earth which has such power for good or for evil as the English House of Commons, and every vote has some influence on the composition of this assembly. Therefore it is a great pity that men should always blindly vote for the candidate who wears the colours of some particular party, because, as they say, they have always voted blue, or green, or red, or whatever the colour may be. Voters should try and understand something about the merits of the great questions on which candidates will be called upon to decide if they get into Parliament. If they know nothing about these questions, they had better not vote at all. They should, however, also consider the personal character of the candidates who appear before them. If every constituency returned the man who was really best known and most highly respected for his personal character in that constituency, it would not in the least matter by what party name the men so elected were called; a Parliament made up of such men would be a thoroughly good Parliament. Voters may also think of the knowledge and experience in politics of the men who stand for Parliament. Governing a great nation is not an easy task; it is the greatest business in the world. Some young men, who have been educated among politicians, are better trained in the work than some older men who have passed the better part of their lives in getting money in business, and who have not had practical acquaintance with any sort of government of mankind. William Pitt the younger, brought up under the eye of his father the great Commoner, was Chancellor of the Exchequer at twenty-three and Prime Minister at twenty-five, and a very good one too, but his is quite an exceptional case. However good a politician a

man may be when he goes into Parliament, practical acquaintance with the real work of Parliament, and contact continually with the greatest men in Parliament, will make him a better politician after he has sat in the House than he was before, unless, of course, he be either very stupid or very extravagant, careless and dishonest in character. A well-tried member is therefore often a safer choice than a new man; but, again, a well-tried member may have been well tried, and found wanting in judgment. It is a betraying of your trust to vote for such a man for old acquaintance, or for the sake of what he was ten years ago. For the vote is a trust bestowed upon every man by agreement with his fellows, as we pointed out above, a trust held for others, for Englishmen, for our wives, for our children, for India, for many races across the sea, for mankind, who have produced no nobler fabric of government than the English Constitution. If this fails to secure law, order, prosperity, liberty, and power, an irreparable injury is inflicted on some of the noblest political ideals of the whole human race. Never therefore should we treat politics as a game, or as a means of satisfying personal likes and dislikes. To be a worthy citizen of England is a most serious task, far more important than getting money for ourselves. Indeed, if a candidate offers us some great boon for ourselves, we should be very careful how we vote for him, and consider very deeply whether we are not being swayed by a hope of personal advantage to support a man who is not likely to do the best for the whole country. If therefore we are owners of house, or land, or householders, or lodgers at £10 a year, or have some of the other qualifications for becoming a voter, such as receiving house room from an employer as part of our wages — any man of twenty-one who really works, and is not a rolling-stone, can become a voter—we

should get our name put upon the register. This we can do by applying to the overseers of the parish in which our qualification lies before July 20th in any year.* We should do it ourselves if possible, not trust to any political organization to do it for us. Then we should do our best to qualify ourselves for a great task, for the privilege of working in a great cause in which we have such fellow-workers as Simon de Montfort, Edward I., Sir Thomas More, Pym, Hampden, the two Pitts, Sir Robert Peel, John Bright, omitting living names. We are not called upon to do as they did, but if anyone is to do work like theirs, it can only be by the honest co-operation of such as we are.

The following are the qualifications for giving a vote at present rather more fully expressed than above.

The Franchise is conferred in counties, and in towns in England which are counties, on freeholders of the annual value of 40s.; copyholders of the value of £5; leaseholders for sixty years or upwards of the value of £5, of more than twenty and less than sixty years of the value of £50. In counties and boroughs on occupiers as owners or tenants of land or tenements to the value of £10 a year; on lodgers occupying premises of the value of £10 a year unfurnished; on occupiers of any premises by virtue of an employment or office, the person under whom the office, &c., is held not living on the same premises. The inhabitant occupier also of any dwelling-house rated for the relief of the poor has a vote. Freeholders and copyholders by purchase must have been in possession for six months, leaseholders by purchase for twelve months. Occupiers must have been in occupation for twelve months, and in English boroughs must have resided for six months of the qualifying year within seven miles of the borough. The registration year ends

* Lodgers must claim every year before July 25th; but Lodgers claim for the first time before August 20th.

for all classes of voters on July 15th. Aliens and persons who have received parochial relief, other than medical relief, within the year are disqualified. Owners and occupiers once on the register need not claim every year. Lodgers must claim year by year, and claims must at present be made in the first twenty-five days of August. Revising Barristers hold courts to consider claims, and to hear objections, in September, after which the registers are finally made up for the year.

But if the responsibility of the voter is so great, by how much greater is the responsibility of the member elected? Many men try to get into the House for unworthy ends. It is so very respectable to be able to write M.P. after your name, the House is the pleasantest club in London, it opens the door to so much society, it may open the door to advancement in business, it gets a man's name into the papers. It would seem that there are some men who would rather have their names in the paper as being hanged than not have them in at all. The members whom it is our hard work and privilege to discover and vote for must not be such as these. The member who goes into the House for the highest motives enters deliberately upon the hardest work a man can do. To sit for hours day after day, night after night, month after month, in the House, to really attend to what goes on, to work in the numerous committees, whose wearisome proceedings never get fully reported in the papers, to really try and master the various questions which arise, this is work for a man, and a strong man in body and mind. Members of Parliament are not paid for their work. Any man cannot give the time without pay can always be paid by those who want him to represent them. But the great reason against it is that to pay the best members

what they are worth would be too expensive, to pay them anything considerable would encourage inferior men, every fluent speaker, newspaper man, and busybody, to try and get in, and then make a trade of politics, voting to keep his salary. A man of the capacity and position of a first-rate member of Parliament can in England make such a sum at the bar, in business, or in literature, that it would be insulting to offer him less than some thousands a year. Paid members in England would seldom be men who otherwise would be working for weekly wages, they would more generally be the briefless barristers and the less successful journalists. America and Australia and France, where they pay their members, shew us how the evil of inferior men making a trade of politics as paid members lowers the whole political tone. The English Parliament may misbehave itself at times, but it has long ceased to be corrupt. The holders of certain offices under the Crown, bankrupts, felons, and lunatics, cannot sit in the House. The acceptance of most paid offices under the Crown forces a member to vacate his seat, but he can be re-elected. A member can only resign his seat by accepting some disqualifying office, usually the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, a nominal office preserved for that purpose.

Parliament does not sit all the year round. It is very important that members should have time to attend to their own business and to local business, for so only can they really keep in sympathy and in touch with the actual business world of the country. It is enough, and indispensable, that the paid ministers should be incessantly occupied in public business, and it is probably good for them to be out of office sometimes.

However, members of Parliament must consider their own

responsibilities and duties. We will briefly consider what goes on there.

At one end of the House sits the Speaker, who is elected by the House at the beginning of every Parliament to act as chairman and to keep order, and to represent the House as a body outside its own precincts. On his right hand sit the Cabinet Ministers and those who usually act with them, and on his left those who usually act against them. The two sides are usually called the Government and the Opposition. It may seem very absurd that half the leading men in the country should be always trying to prevent the other half from doing what they think best, but in practice it generally works well. The alternative to two regular parties in opposition to each other is a collection of groups or factions. Where these exist parliamentary management, or the balancing of group against group by offering them concessions to win their votes, becomes a sort of trade, and results in the lowering of the standard of political honesty, and generally in rapid changes of successive weak governments, as in France. Often both sides of the House really agree upon the principle of measures, but this practice of a regular opposition ensures a complete criticism of everything which is brought forward, and few important laws are carried without being improved in detail by criticisms coming from the Opposition side. When a law is proposed it is presented as a Bill, printed that all may be able to read it. It is read a first time, sometimes without discussion. Then it comes on for second reading, and its principles are debated, and if there is a division of opinion the House divides. Those who approve of the Bill go out at one door, those who disapprove at another. Each are counted, and the majority of votes decides whether the Bill is to go on or not. If

the second reading is carried the House then goes into Committee on the Bill. Its details are debated clause by clause, and amendments proposed, which are either inserted or rejected. It is very important that a Bill should be subjected to this searching criticism. For if it is drawn up in obscure or doubtful language the Judges, who have to administer the law, may find out that it really says something which it was not meant to say, but they have to decide by what it does say. They are not Judges of the intentions of the House of Commons, but of the laws. What the Judges declare to be the law is the law, till it is altered again by Parliament. So Parliament has to be quite sure what it means, and that it says what it means. Well, after a Bill has gone through Committee it is reported to the House as amended, and comes on for third reading, and if extensive alterations have been made it is often again debated, and another division taken upon it. Then it goes to the House of Lords, and goes through the same process there. If alterations are made it has to come back again to the House of Commons for the alterations to be considered, and then goes up to the House of Lords again, till it has finally passed both Houses. A Bill may originate in the House of Lords and come down to the Commons, in which case the same process goes on, but reversed in order. Only Bills which contain votes of money, plans for raising taxes and expenditure of money, must originate in the House of Commons and cannot be altered in the House of Lords. This originated in the fact that the House of Lords used to pay different taxes from people who did not hold land from the Crown as they did. It is continued because it is thought best that elected members should be the sole judges of what those who elect them should pay for public purposes.

After a Bill has passed both Houses it goes before the Crown, and receives the Royal assent as a matter of course. As the Crown only acts through the Ministers, and as the Ministers are those who command a majority in the House of Commons, or very rarely those who are allowed for a little while to govern by a majority which does not intend always to support them, it is obvious that the consent of the Crown is only formal. If the Ministers objected to a Bill they would stop it earlier.

The Bill so passed is law. It can only be altered by another law, passing in the same way, to repeal or amend it.

The law in England therefore is something which we all, through our representatives, have agreed to make or not to alter. It is therefore to be obeyed, unless we wish to repudiate all idea of constitutional government. Of course while men have bad passions some will break the law, but it is the duty of good citizens to respect it even in small particulars, and even when they disapprove of it personally. To do otherwise is to be a traitor and a rebel on a small scale, not only against the Crown, but against the Parliament and the country. Some men may honestly persuade themselves that their higher duty to God or to mankind may justify them in breaking the law, but all men are sometimes mistaken about these difficult questions of divided allegiance; even the very young, the very unlearned, and the very few are sometimes wrong, and the conscientious law-breaker in England is apt not only to be wrong, but to be ridiculous as well.

CHAPTER VII.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

AFTER the House of Commons in power, though before it in age, comes the House of Lords. It is called the Upper House, the House of Commons the Lower. The House of Lords is composed of peers who have been created by the Crown for services in politics, the army, navy, law, business, science, and literature. Also the eldest sons and further eldest descendants of those thus created, who succeed to the title and to a seat on their fathers' deaths. The eldest son of a peer during his father's life, and the younger son of a peer always, is a Commoner, unless specially created a peer as any Commoner can be. Certain Scotch and Irish peers also sit, elected by other Scotch and Irish peers. Some few great lawyers sit as law lords, for life only, leaving no title to their descendants, and the Judges may be called upon to consult with the House of Lords, but not to vote in it. For this reason they cannot sit in the House of Commons. Two Archbishops and twenty-four Bishops of the Church of England also sit. A Church of England clergyman, we may remember, cannot sit in the House of Commons. The titles borne by members of the House of Lords are Duke, Marquis, Earl, Viscount or Baron, in order of precedence. But a Duke has no more power or right in the House than a Baron has. Knights, called

Sir John So-and-so, or Sir Thomas So-and-so, do not sit in the House of Lords, neither do Baronets, who may be described as Knights whose eldest sons succeed to their title. The eldest son of a peer may be called Lord So-and-so, and the younger sons of dukes and marquises are Lord Charles or Lord William So-and-so, but they are not any of them peers, and do not sit in the House. An Irish peer not elected to the House of Lords may be elected to the House of Commons for an English constituency. The House of Lords is presided over by the Lord Chancellor, the head of the English law, but he has not exactly the functions of the Speaker in the House of Commons, he takes part in debate, which the Speaker does not.* The business of the House is otherwise conducted in much the same way as that of the House of Commons. The Lords are the elder brother of the parliamentary family, tracing a direct descent from the ancient Witan and Council, but the elder brother has given up voluntarily his birthright to the younger, the House of Commons.

The House of Lords has been spoken of above as sharing in the work of law-making with the House of Commons, and in theory having equal power with it, except over Money Bills. As a matter of fact its power is not, should not be, and cannot be, equal to that of the House of Commons. It is not equal, for apart from the great and important exception of Money Bills which the Lords cannot alter, the House of Lords does not now oppose the wish of the country clearly expressed through the House of Commons. If there is reason to suppose that the country has not really made up its mind on an

* It is possible that the Lord Chancellor should not be a peer, in which case he would merely preside and not debate. But he is now always created a peer.

important question, or has changed its mind, the House of Lords by rejecting a Bill gives an opportunity to the House of Commons, and to the country, of reconsidering the question. It should not be equal to the House of Commons, because its members sit of personal right, and are not elected, except the Scotch and Irish peers who are elected by other peers. It cannot be equal to the House of Commons, because real power depends upon something more than written laws or guarantees, or force of precedent. The force of public opinion can speak through the House of Commons more directly, but will of necessity make itself felt also in the House of Lords. For the House of Lords is after all composed of men accustomed to public life, and liable to be influenced by the force of real public opinion, and they will always be persuaded by it or give in to it, when it is unmistakably expressed. They have recognised this inferiority of their real power, and now amend and sometimes delay for re-consideration Bills coming from the Lower House, but never permanently refuse to pass those of any importance upon which the Lower House insists. Amending a Bill is a very different matter from rejecting it. Often the constituencies have been consulted upon the principle of a Measure, and to reject a Bill altogether which has passed the Lower House is often to reject the expressed opinion of the majority in the country. But the constituencies have seldom expressed any opinion upon the details of a Bill, and to amend details passed by the House of Commons is often to put back for re-consideration points upon which the judgment of the country is really quite uncertain.

Like very many of our arrangements the composition of the House of Lords seems to be strange, and out of keeping with theories of popular government. Not only

men created peers for great services, but the descendants of men who were some of them created peers for very bad reasons, have their seats for life, have theoretically very great power, and in practice extensive powers over laws and policy. No doubt the composition of the House could be theoretically better, but in practice it fulfils some useful functions. We may remember that the business of the House is really done by a very limited number. It is done by Cabinet Ministers, men who have been Cabinet Ministers, men who have sat for long in the House of Commons before becoming peers, by eminent lawyers, generals, and men who have been in the Home Civil Service, or been ambassadors and colonial governors. Besides, many of them have had long experience in the management of large estates and in local government. The others may come in to swell the division lists on great occasions, but never alter the way a vote of the House will go.

All the many nations who have copied the English Constitution have felt that some sort of "Second Chamber," as it is called, is necessary, not to stop the popular House, but to prevent its doing possible mischief in a state of excitement, and to give the country the chance of taking second thoughts. So in France and in the United States we find a Senate contrived so as to be a more stable and less popular body than the House of Representatives, which in those countries answers to our House of Commons. The difficulty of deliberately making such a Second Chamber—a difficulty which those countries have not escaped—is that if it is filled with nobodies it is not a check upon the other, and is despised; and if it is filled with eminent men and experienced statesmen only it is apt to be too powerful. In a living political

organism like England, where political life really exists, power will always be found to reside in those who really command respect by their political capacity and character, as we have tried already to point out. With the growth of the political knowledge of all classes, the political power of the House of Lords has declined from being greater than that of the Commons to being equal, from being equal to being less. It rests entirely in the hands of the people and their representatives to keep it less and make it less still; or the Commons can exalt it again by shewing that they themselves are not wise, patriotic, and orderly any longer. If all the weaker members of the House of Lords insisted upon their privilege of voting continually, and swayed the decisions of that House, the Lords would lose what influence they have in fact. As it is there are some very noticeable features about debates in the House of Lords. Men who have had varied experiences in different kinds of government, command, and law, carry them on, and they are free to debate things as they really are. They are not subject to the temptation, which must beset some members of the House of Commons, of debating things as their constituents think they are or wish them to be. They have no seats to lose by saying unpopular truths. The political world would be the poorer for the loss of those debates.

It has been objected that the House of Lords does not throw out the bills of a Conservative Government. It has done such a thing formerly; it does not do it now, because the legislation of no English Government is reactionary. The system of checks in our government provides that no important change can be passed till public opinion is very strongly pronounced for it, or

until public opinion against it is very slightly expressed. If changes could be passed more rapidly some changes would be reversed again. A vigorous reforming Government—masters of one Chamber, and checked by no other—would pass a great many laws, but would some day incur unpopularity and fail. Then their opponents would come in, and would repeal half the laws of their predecessors, and we should live through a series of revolutionary changes and of violent reversals of changes such as afflicted the later Roman Republic, or France from 1814 to 1851. Because our changes are slow they also are sure.

Therefore, while the Lords confine themselves to the part of acting as a useful check upon hurry, and as a good business-like amender of bills, practical Englishmen, who know that it is much better that things should be done well and prudently the day after to-morrow rather than done at all risks to-day, will probably continue to put up with the anomaly of the House of Lords until at least some reasonable plan for amending it, without making it too powerful, can be devised. No such plan is yet in existence. There is one more consideration about the Lords. It is not impossible for us to sit in that House. Not likely, perhaps; less unlikely for our children, less unlikely still for theirs, if they do their best, that is, to make themselves worthy citizens and successful men. The ranks of the House of Lords are open. The grandfathers of some peers were working men. Some actual peers were certainly once very poor and obscure men.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CROWN.

NEXT in the consideration of the parts of the Parliamentary Government, but first in dignity, comes the Crown. The power of the Crown has varied greatly at various times, according to the personal character of the Sovereign and the circumstances of the time. William I. and Henry VIII. were, for different reasons, nearly despotic rulers, doing as they liked. Elizabeth pursued a policy of her own, and made her Ministers acquiesce in it. William III. put his *veto* upon bills which had passed both Houses. George III. chose Ministers irrespective of the wishes of the House of Commons. But the Crown now acts through Ministers, and has no policy of its own. Strange as it may seem, the decrease in royal power was partly caused by the Crown becoming hereditary. Kings used to be chosen for their personal qualities, and being strong men chosen to rule, of course did rule. Neither Alfred, nor Ethelstan, nor Canute, nor Harold, nor William I., nor William II., nor Henry I., nor Stephen, nor Henry II., nor John, were what we should call lawful heirs of their immediate predecessors. Yet they were all lawful kings. But when the rule was observed that a son was always to succeed his father, the son could not always have power really. His age or character sometimes forbade it, and others had to govern in his name. This rule of succession, however,

was never made a law till 1701, when, by the Act of Settlement, a regular order of succession, of which the Queen is now the representative, was established by law on certain conditions. So long as those conditions are kept the succession cannot be changed. And it has been found a good thing to have at the head of a constitutionally governed State a constitutional monarch ruling in accordance with the law, and succeeding according to a fixed rule, to obviate disputes and rivalry about the highest place in the State. That highest place is the formal origin of all the rest of the executive power in the State, and the means through which the legislative power becomes operative. All Ministers, judges, and public servants, officers in the army and navy, officials in India, and governors in the colonies, hold office under the Crown. The dissolution of one Parliament, the calling of another, the changes of Ministry, go on under the authority of the Crown. Justice is administered in the name of the Crown. Offenders are prosecuted by the Crown.

The Crown is the supreme Commander of the Army and Navy. The Crown bestows titles and decorations, and promotes to offices of public trust. The taxes are nominally paid to the Crown, but the actual personal allowance reserved for keeping up the dignity of the Crown, that is, the dignity of the nation, is small compared with the total amount raised for the public service, and less than the value of the personal estates and revenue which the Crown has from time to time surrendered for the public benefit. But the wearer of the Crown being irremovable and irresponsible before the law, though his or her responsibility is of course morally of the highest kind, cannot be allowed to exercise personal power directly in the administration of

a self-governing State. Ministers are responsible for the advice which they give to the Crown, which the Crown follows.

The Crown can only act Constitutionally through Ministers, and is practically obliged to rely on Ministers who have the confidence of a majority of the House of Commons. But all the same the Crown is not a mere ornamental figure-head. Ministers are of one party or another, the Crown is above parties and belongs to none. An elected President, as in France or America, is more the head of his party than the head of the State, and in consequence party successes are pushed further, and party strife is more unscrupulous, than in England, where the highest place is above the reach of party leaders. We have a moderating influence always at hand to smooth the worst difficulties of party conflict. May we make a homely illustration? We, many of us, play cricket, and we all know the game. Well, English politics without the Crown would be like cricket without the Umpire. The Umpire cannot change a single law of the game, but he can tell men when they are out, and tell the others to go in. He can suspend the game when play is unadvisable, and can declare that it is time to begin again. The orderly conduct of the game is impossible without him, and one player out of the two playing sides, elected to take his place, could never give the same satisfaction for half an hour. The Crown is the Umpire of English political life, not making the laws, but the person through whom the rules of the Constitution act. In one respect indeed the Crown can exercise great influence for the good of the country in foreign affairs. The Sovereign is one of a society, some members of which are really personal rulers of great States. In times of doubt and difficulty the Crown can hold confidential

relations with these, can warn and be warned, advise and instruct, in a way which would be open to no minister, however able and trusted. It may be fifty years hence before our grandchildren know all that the Crown has done for England in that way in the present reign. But all political communications from foreign Sovereigns to the English Crown are laid before the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the Crown never gives formal audience to a Foreign Ambassador except in the presence of the same Secretary. But in domestic affairs the Crown can exercise influence too. The Sovereign is the highest political personage, and holds office for life. All important business must be submitted by Ministers to the Sovereign. The Sovereign has unrivalled experience in public affairs, dealing in turn with Ministers of all parties, and regarding all questions from a non-party point of view. A wearer of the Crown, therefore, unless a very stupid person to begin with, must in course of time acquire very valuable experience, and can, and does, give advice to the Ministers which must be listened to, and is pretty sure to be worth regarding. The Crown is therefore a moderating influence at the head of affairs in England, tending to draw the existing Government away from party towards national considerations.

But the Crown is something more. England is the centre of an Empire. The Crown is the golden link that binds India and the Colonies to us. It is more than doubtful if they would submit to the supremacy of changing partisan Presidents. And the existence of the Crown in England enables us to furnish our great dependencies and self-governing colonies with Viceroys and Governors, who give to them too the advantage of a moderating power lifted above their contending parties. We must be loyal to

the Crown, for the Crown is loyal to us, and is the personification of our Constitution and of our law. To be loyal and respectful to the Crown is with us the privilege of freemen, not the homage of slaves. It is to be loyal to the law of the country, to the unity of the Empire, to the memory of our fathers and to the majesty of our native land. The present wearer of the Crown has shewn how the work of a Constitutional Sovereign should be perfectly done, and how the highest social position in England can be useful for the furthering of all that is right, true, honest, and of good report.

The women and girls of England in particular must be always grateful for the example of what a true woman's influence upon the world can be. There is not one of them whose possibilities for good have not been heightened by the reign of Her Majesty. Family life, after all, lies at the root of all society, and no political life is sound which is not founded upon family virtues in the nation. No man can rule others well till he has ruled himself, and become a Constitutional Sovereign, and not a tyrant in his own household. Monarchy may, or may not, in remote ages, have sprung from the patriarchal rule of a father over his descendants. Certainly Constitutional Monarchy is the natural rule in the little home states, the aggregate of which make up the nation.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MINISTERS.

THE Crown, as we have said, acts through the Ministers. It is one of the peculiarities of the English Constitution that some of the most important features of it are not mentioned in the laws at all. The Cabinet, the Prime Minister, the Government, the Opposition, are not known to the law, but are most important parts of the working system of the Constitution all the same. At an early period the Norman kings entrusted various departments of their work to special Ministers or officers under them. In the reign of Henry III. and of Edward II., the Barons, the House of Lords in fact, tried to control the appointment of these Ministers. At the end of Edward III.'s reign the Commons took upon themselves to accuse Ministers who had ruled badly in their several departments, and the practice was continued while Parliament was strong under the Lancastrian kings, but dropped when strong monarchs chose their own Ministers and dismissed or beheaded them at will during the Tudor reigns. Under James I. and Charles I. this plan of *Impeachment*, as it was called, was revived, and the Commons accused Ministers, who were tried before the House of Lords, and punished by them. Under Charles II. the same practice continued, and it went on sometimes later. When the Ministers were really the servants of the Crown, and appointed or dismissed by the Crown without reference to the wishes of

Parliament, this was the only way in which Parliament could keep an effective check upon their conduct. But after the Revolution of 1688, and especially in the reign of Anne, it began to be recognised that though the Ministers were called the Ministers of the Crown, yet they could not effectively exercise their powers unless they were supported by Parliament, which had acquired complete control of taxation and legislation, and had practically laid down conditions upon which the Crown itself should be held. Some Ministers, including very prominent men like Lord Somers, Harley, Earl of Oxford, and Sir Robert Walpole, have been impeached since the Revolution. The last case was Lord Melville, at the beginning of the present century. But these impeachments were generally considered to be the result of personal malice of party opponents, and were not necessary to ensure the responsibility of the Ministers to the country. Henceforward it became really unnecessary to impeach a Minister, a hostile vote of the House of Commons was enough to drive him from office, and he was therefore obliged to please Parliament by what he did, or else retire. Pitt was able in 1783 and 1784 to hold office against the wishes of the House of Commons for a short time, only because he had correctly judged that the House did not represent the actual wishes of the country, and that the coming elections would give him a large majority.

The present practice is, when Ministers have resigned office, for the Crown to send for the leading man of the party which has a majority in the House of Commons, and ask him to form a ministry. He is the new Prime Minister, though this is not a formal title. He recommends certain men as fit persons to hold chief offices, and the Crown, acting as trustee for the interests of the nation at large,

accepts their names and appoints them as a rule, though occasionally suggesting modifications, especially if from his bad or frivolous personal character a man proposed is likely to bring the government into contempt and odium. But of course the Prime Minister is himself anxious to be assisted by men of high character and abilities. If he said that he was obliged to be supported by a certain man, and could not undertake to form a Ministry without him, the Crown would now give way to his views. Of these Ministers, some, from twelve to eighteen usually in number, form the Cabinet, or inner circle of powerful Ministers. It is the invariable custom for certain high officials to be in the Cabinet, but there is no rule about some other offices. The Postmaster-General, for instance, or the President of the Local Government Board, may be in the Cabinet in some Ministries and not in others. The whole body of Ministers, in the Cabinet or not, are called the Government. The Cabinet consult together upon laws, taxes, and measures of public policy, and are collectively responsible for what they propose. If a Minister differs very strongly from the rest, he resigns his office. In smaller matters of difference, however, he will give in to his colleagues, and is then equally responsible with them, even though he has disagreed with what they propose. All meetings of the Cabinet are secret, and it is a point of honour not to reveal differences of opinion and conflicting arguments in them, though people can often shrewdly guess at these. Not only do the Cabinet conduct the business of the country and of parliament, but in practice now no important law can be passed unless it originates with the Cabinet. The great increase and complexity of public business now would make all business impossible unless some authoritative body were to settle to what business Parliament is really to

devote itself seriously. Only a Member of Parliament, who is not in the Government, can by raising some question over and over again at last persuade the Government that it is important enough for them to undertake it. Thus, in spite of the theoretic omnipotence of the House of Commons, the House as a whole has less practical power than it had, and the Cabinet has more. Members of the House who usually support the Government are often obliged to do so, even when they disagree with it, or risk losing their seats. Members of the Cabinet sometimes judge of the importance of questions quite as much by the way in which they are received by great public meetings in the country as by the way in which Parliament looks at them; for those public meetings are the masters of Parliament whenever an election occurs, and can change its Members.

It is the prerogative of the Crown, acting through the Ministers, to make Treaties with foreign powers, to declare war and to make peace. It is often essential to the success of negotiations that they should be carried on with more or less secrecy. Delicate proposals, and compromises upon which peace depends, cannot be always suggested in public. But the Ministry knows perfectly well that it must always be held responsible to Parliament for what it has concluded, and no war can be carried on for a day without parliamentary support. Ministers now are not likely to commit the country to measures which involve war, without being very sure that the interests of the country demand such a sacrifice, and that the country through Parliament will support them in the course which they follow.

The Cabinet continue to hold office till the votes of Parliament convince it that it can no longer be secure of a majority by which to carry its measures. Then it may

either offer its resignation to the Crown, the Crown either accepting its resignation or begging it to try again; or it may advise the Crown to dissolve Parliament, and see whether a new one will support the Ministry or not. In the unlikely case of a Ministry clinging to office, in spite of the manifest hostility of Parliament and of the country, it would be the duty of the Crown, as supreme Umpire, to ask for their resignation, provided of course that the Crown could secure new Ministers through whom to act. But a hostile Parliament can force a Ministry to a resignation by preventing their carrying out their policy, or, as a last resource, could refuse to vote any money and leave them powerless. But the rules of the Constitution, though unwritten and of no legal force, are too well understood to allow matters to come to such a pass as that.

The Ministers while in office are responsible for carrying on the business of the country. In each department they are assisted by experienced officials, who are permanently employed, and do not change with changing governments. These permanent officials may have their private political opinions, but they are not made by political appointments, but have been originally admitted into the Civil Service, as it is called, by competitive examination, and do their best to serve the country under all governments. A great deal of the efficiency of the public service depends on these men. It is a good thing that not only the very highest places, but the lower places also, among those who have to carry out the laws should be filled by persons who are not liable to be turned out as one party or another get the upper hand, who have the benefit of long experience of their work, and who have no temptation to put party or personal interests before the national interest in doing it. Because they are not elected they can be paid

for their work without the risk of introducing corruption. Civil servants may not sit in the House of Commons, in order that they may be the more free from party ties.

The Prime Minister, the leader of the Cabinet, is usually First Lord of the Treasury, not that he really has much to do now with the keeping or spending of Treasure. No such office as Prime Minister, or Premier, exists, but in practice one man heads the Government and leads the Cabinet under this popularly given title. His business is really to keep up a general superintendence over the whole business of the country. The Secretaries to the Treasury act as Whips, as they are called, to keep the government party together in the House, and to communicate the intentions of the government to them, but are of course not in the Cabinet. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has really to preside over the keeping of the public accounts, to estimate what money will be wanted for the public service every year, and to provide a scheme of taxation for getting that money. He is obliged to be in close correspondence with the leading bankers and business men of London, and as London is the centre of the money market of the world the Chancellor of the Exchequer is perhaps the most important figure in the whole business world. Upon the wise management of the English money matters a great deal of the business and prosperity of England and the world depends.

The Lord Chancellor is always in the Cabinet. He is a Judge, and the head of the lawyers in England. In old days the Lord Chancellor used to be as nearly approaching a Prime Minister as anybody was. Very often he used to be a Bishop, sometimes Archbishop, now of course he must be a lawyer, and in practice is always a peer, though there is no law that he must be one. The Lord

Chancellor is the channel for the appointment of Judges, Magistrates, and Justices by the Crown, and practically appoints by himself to the higher positions in the law. He is the chief legal adviser to the Cabinet. He is keeper of the Great Seal to the Crown, and all writs and patents which require the great seal to be attached to make them valid come from him. He issues the writs for a new parliament at the command of the Crown.

The Home Secretary, presiding over the Home Office, has immediate charge of domestic matters in England, the control of the police and of the magistrates. He is responsible for domestic order, and supervises the laws for the inspections of factories, coal mines, and prisons. The Home Secretary is the original "Secretary of State," and all the other secretaries have been invented to relieve him of part of his duties. But any Secretary of State can do the work of the others on an emergency. One Secretary is always in attendance on the Crown, and one is always present in London. One important part of the Home Secretary's duties is to advise the Crown in cases where it is advisable to lessen or remit punishments which have been imposed upon men in the law courts. For though the Crown cannot increase a punishment by a single day's imprisonment, the Prerogative of Mercy, as it is called, has been wisely retained, and if after a trial any cause appears for mercy, the Crown, on the advice of the Home Secretary, can shew mercy and spare the lives sometimes of men condemned to death. Partly on this account it is often advisable that the Home Secretary should be a lawyer, well trained in the law. In theory the Home Secretary is Secretary for Ireland as well as England. Practically the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant exercises his powers with respect to Ireland.

The Foreign Secretary, presiding over the Foreign Office, has the important duty of conducting all the affairs of England with foreign nations. We have Ambassadors and Envoys representing England at all foreign seats of government. They are in constant communication with the Foreign Office. We have also consuls at all foreign places of importance, who are under the Foreign Office, and who look after the interests of individual British subjects abroad, and make reports upon questions of trade. Very often not only our foreign interests, but peace and war, may depend upon the wisdom, foresight, tact, and moderation of the Foreign Secretary. It is essential that he should be conversant with foreign countries and with foreign languages.

The Secretary for India, at the India Office, controls to some extent and co-operates with the Viceroy of India. He is advised by the Indian Council of fifteen members, men conversant with Indian affairs. The Viceroy has also a council of thirteen to nineteen members in India, appointed by the Crown through the ministers, or by the Viceroy. They have under their charge the interests of about fifty different peoples in India, comprising an empire greater than any ruled over by anyone else, except the emperors of China and of Russia. The Indian Council is appointed by the Chief Secretary, but with the consent of existing members of the Council. Appointments are for ten years, and may be specially renewed for five years more, so that the council is a more permanent body than changing party ministries in England. A member can only be removed by an address from both Houses of Parliament. But the Chief Secretary can introduce Bills into Parliament affecting India without consulting his Council, though practically he does not do so. The *Indian Budget* is

annually laid before the House of Commons, and the Indian Government cannot incur fresh debt without the consent of the House, but the House passes no votes affecting Indian taxation. The Legislative Council of the Viceroy in India consists of seven members nominated by the Crown, that is the Chief Secretary, who preside over the different departments of government, and of from six to twelve additional members appointed by the Viceroy.

The First Lord of the Admiralty, at the Admiralty Office, presides over our Naval affairs, that is over the force upon which our very existence as a nation, to say nothing of our prosperity, depends. He has under him a Board of Admiralty, comprising skilled naval men.

The Secretary of State for War, at the War Office, presides over the affairs of the Army. But as a consequence of former bad arrangements, which have not been entirely altered, there is some divided control over the Army. There is a Commander-in-Chief, with an office called The Horse Guards. He, though he is in a sense under the Secretary of State for War, and submits questions to his ultimate decision, is, as a permanent official of great dignity with a separate office, more or less powerful in the affairs of the Army. Probably in time the sole control will be more completely in the hands of the Secretary of State for War. These last two Secretaries are never now sailors or soldiers, they are civilians who attend to the business of their departments, but of course they have to be advised in some things by sailors and soldiers.

The Colonial Secretary, at the Colonial Office, has to manage the rather delicate relations with our self-governing Colonies, like Canada, the Cape, and Australia, and also to provide for the government of what are called Crown Colonies, which are not self-governing, and are usually

colonies in which comparatively few inhabitants of European descent live among a great many negroes, or other coloured people. He sometimes has to protect them against the whites, for of course the whites though fewer are the stronger from superior brain power and energy. The Crown, acting through the Colonial Secretary, can *veto*, or annul, acts of Colonial Legislative bodies, or the Ordinances made by the Governors of Crown Colonies that have no representative governments. The Colonial Office has a most useful Emigration Department, and at 31, Broadway, Westminster, intending emigrants can obtain full information concerning places where they want to go, and how to get there.

The Presidents of the Board of Trade and of the Local Government Board, have to do with questions of trade and of Local Government respectively, in towns and country districts.

The Board of Trade controls and inspects railways, and merchant shipping of all kinds, and grants certificates of efficiency to officers of the mercantile service. The Board of Trade has also a Labour Department, whose business it is to collect and publish statistics relating to wages and the state of trade of different kinds, in the *Labour Gazette* of the Board of Trade.

The President of the Board of Agriculture manages business connected with our largest industry, agriculture. One of his most important functions is to issue orders, which he is empowered to do by Act of Parliament, to stop infectious diseases among animals, by the slaughter of diseased cattle or cattle coming from an infected country, and by prohibiting the movement of cattle in infected districts.

The Vice-President of the Committee of the Council on

Education has to preside over the whole machinery of the Elementary and of the Public Secondary Schools of the country.

The Local Government Board, the Board of Trade, the Board of Agriculture and the Committee of the Council on Education, are all departments of the Privy Council. But the real directing power in each is the President, or in the last case the Vice-President, who are Ministers coming in and going out with the Cabinet.

The Postmaster General presides over the whole system of Posts and Telegraphs, including the Savings Banks and the various means by which the Government enable persons to invest their savings. This is a gigantic business, worked by the Government because it is so big and so important that no private companies could conveniently undertake it. Of all the departments of Government it is the one which should most constantly remind us of its presence and importance. How many of us when we stamp and post a letter realize the immense pains and forethought which have provided that that letter shall certainly be delivered the next day, at the opposite end of England, to the right person? But the railways and the electric discoveries which have rendered this great work of Government possible have been provided by the thought and energy of private persons. George Stephenson, the poor pitman, who invented locomotives, who had none of our modern helps to education, but who taught himself to read at an age when the present generation have all left school, is the real benefactor who originated our whole wonderful system of communication, with untold results, social and political. We cannot all be as good men as he, we have not got it in us, but we can all take example from him and do our best.

Then there are Secretaries for Scotland and for Ireland, to superintend Scottish and Irish affairs. They are the Home Secretaries for Scotland and Ireland. The former affairs are comparatively simple; for Scotland is inhabited by people who though they are of two different races and even languages—one of English and Scandinavian blood like the people in the North of England, the other of Gaelic blood and sometimes Gaelic speech—are nevertheless one in feeling and religion, and generally prosperous, helping themselves, well-educated, and contented. Ireland is unfortunately divided by differences of race and religion, and was formerly very badly misgoverned by part of her own people and by England. The memories and results of the past, and the dependence of a great number of the people on agriculture, which the climate renders uncertainly productive, have contributed to cause constant distress. Ireland consequently is often a scene of difficulties, and owing to these important difficulties the Irish Secretary is always now in the Cabinet. He is technically the Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, not to the Crown.

There are also many other Ministers, some filling useful subordinate positions, others necessary positions for the formal despatch of business, such as the President of the Council and the Lord Privy Seal.

Of the chief Ministers mentioned above, it may be taken that the First Lord of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Chancellor, and the Secretaries of State, the Irish Secretary, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Lord President of the Council, are always in the Cabinet. The Lord Privy Seal, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Postmaster-General, Lord Chancellor for Ireland, Vice-President of the Council, Presidents of the Board of Trade, of the Local Government Board, and

of the Board of Agriculture, the Secretary for Scotland, and the Chancellor for the Duchy of Lancaster are often in the Cabinet. The last has been called the "Maid-of-all-Work" to the Cabinet; for his official duties are slight, and he is used for purposes of general help and advice. Mr. Bright filled the office when he was last member of a Government.

The Crown has also a body of Councillors called the Privy Council. To be a member of the Privy Council is now only an honorary distinction, though of old they used to be the regular advisers of the Crown, as under the Tudors. But all the Ministers are Privy Councillors, and there are Committees of the Council empowered by law to attend to certain duties. Such are the Judicial Committee, which is a Court of Judges to hear certain appeals; and the Committee of the Council on Education, whose Vice-President we mentioned above, and the Local Government Board, and the Board of Trade.

These Ministers, remember, make no laws; but they execute or carry out the laws made in Parliament, and do the business of the country according to law.

The heads of the different departments have to estimate every year what money they will want for their different services. As efficiency costs money, they all are inclined to ask for a good deal from the Treasury, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer has great trouble in satisfying the necessary demands of the various services, and at the same time keeping the whole expenditure within bounds. Parliament has of course to vote the money finally asked for, and may refuse to do so if it is not satisfied that it is being well spent. Motions are continually made in the House of Commons to reduce the vote for such and such a department by £1000 or £500, or some other sum. This is not done

with any real intention of depriving the service of money, but to give an opportunity of discussing its policy in some respect. Members can thus keep a constant control over all that is done by the various parts of the Government; and seeing that a fifth of the population of the world is affected directly by our Government, it is certain that there will always be plenty of real occasions for serious criticism and enquiry into its conduct by competent men. The administration of the British Empire is the largest, most important, and most expensive business which has ever existed.

Thus we may have some idea how complicated and serious and difficult and harassing that business is, for those who are responsible for doing it. When we have understood it, we shall be a little surprised at the readiness with which men, who have never shewn themselves to be very clever in managing much easier affairs, criticize the way in which it is done, and find fault with it, and blame the men who do it, and give us to understand that they could do it much better. If it were not true it would be too absurd to invent; but it is true that there are many fluent talkers, who would never undertake to manage a shop, but who think that they could manage the Post Office; who would be hopelessly incompetent at the head of a school of thirty boys, but who think that they could rule India; or who would refuse to steer a ship, from a wholesome dread of being drowned, but who would steer the State, if only people would accept them at their own valuation. To judge from their language, every newspaper writer not belonging to the party actually in office could teach those statesmen their business. Public business is very difficult business, and very anxious business. It matters very much whether it is ill or well done; the best

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of laws need good administration to make them effective. It is one drawback to our system of government by public discussion, that unthinking people are far more apt to believe in a man who can talk or write well about what he does ill, than in the man who does public work well with less talking.

CHAPTER X.

LAW AND JUSTICE.

ONE most important part of the Government, for the execution of the laws, is the Judicial and Magisterial department of the State. Parliament makes the laws, representing the wishes of the community, the public departments which we spoke about above carry on the government according to law, the Judicial bodies execute the laws against those who break them, and decide disputes between private persons, or even between private persons and public bodies. It has been found essential for the purity of justice to separate, as far as can be, the Judicial from the political side of Government. In old days the Judges were all nominees of the Crown, and were all removable at the will of the Crown. Consequently they were an important part of the machinery of political government by the Crown, and were expected to give sentences in accordance with the political needs of the Crown. In some other countries Judges are elected, as the representatives of political parties, and as a consequence are not above the suspicion of political partizanship in their decisions. Now, since 1689, the Judges, though appointed by the Crown on the advice of a Minister, the Lord Chancellor, are irremovable when once appointed, unless both Houses of Parliament petition for their removal on the ground of their misconduct. They are therefore

independent guardians of the laws. Only the Lord Chief Justice is appointed on the advice of the Prime Minister, not of the Lord Chancellor, but it is not a political appointment. He holds office on the same terms as the other Judges. The only Judge who holds a political position is the Lord Chancellor, who is a member of the Cabinet, going in and out of office with his party. But he is not quite like other Ministers; having once been Lord Chancellor, he cannot, by the practice of the Constitution, ever fill any other office, and he is not a Judge in criminal cases at all. Other Judges are attached to the House of Lords, to hear Judicial appeals. But apart from this no Judge may vote in either House of Parliament, except as a Peer in the House of Lords, nor hold any of the other offices of the Executive government.

Formerly there were many different classes of Judges. The Judges of the Court of King's Bench or Queen's Bench, the Barons of the Exchequer, and the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, once heard different sorts of cases, though latterly their business became much the same. They date back to the reign of Edward I. The Judges of the High Court of Chancery heard cases dealing with trust property, and the Court was originally composed of the King's Clerks, clergy that is, who were the only highly-educated class in the country. By a curious combination, business dealing with shipping and wills was in the hands of one Court of Probate and Admiralty. In 1875 the Judicature Act consolidated them all into a Supreme Court, divided into a Court of Appeal and a High Court of Justice, the latter subdivided into the Queen's Bench division, the Chancery division, and the division of Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty, and the Bankruptcy Court.

The Judges of the High Court of Justice sit in London to hear cases; both of a criminal nature, that is, cases where a man is accused of an offence which subjects him, if found guilty, to punishment, and of a civil nature, or disputes about property or cases where money damages are sought by an aggrieved party. Besides this they go on circuit, and hold the assizes in different parts of the country, judging criminal and civil business. The Chancery division of the High Court of Justice sits in London, to hear a certain class of complicated cases about property, and there are local Chancery Courts in some places. The division of Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty sits in London.

There are twenty-two Judges of the High Court, and the Court of Appeal is composed of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice, the President of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty division, five other Judges, and the Master of the Rolls.

Many towns have Recorders, who are a sort of assistant Judges to hear less important criminal cases. Some of the preliminary business of the cases is also done by Chief Clerks in Chancery, by Masters of the High Court in London, and by District Registrars in the country. But all cases of importance are ultimately tried before Judges of the High Court.

A man must have been a barrister for ten years before he is eligible for a Judgeship, really he has always served a longer time. To be a Judge of the Court of Appeal he must have been a barrister for fifteen years or a Judge for one.

The Judges are made more thoroughly independent by being very highly paid. A numerous and ill-paid judicial body is capable of being corrupt, and is likely to raise suspicion of corruption, which in its results is

nearly as great an evil. We may remember, however, that a very successful barrister is sometimes making twice the income of a Judge before he is raised to the more important post.

The Judges not only declare the law, but also really help to make it. It is impossible for the best drawn-up Act of Parliament to provide for every case which can possibly arise, and formerly acts were drawn up in very loose and general terms. Consequently the Judges were, and are, often called upon to decide cases where the law is insufficient, or not quite clear, and they decide in accordance with the general meaning of the Act, and according to the general practice of past times. By this means the Common Law has grown up, founded upon numerous decisions of Judges. For instance, the writ of Habeas Corpus, by which a man may claim the right to know for what offence he is imprisoned, and claim his release if there is no legal cause for keeping him in prison, was really established by the Common Law before it was expressly embodied in a Statute in 1679. Many of the most important guarantees of our personal liberty are declared by the Common Law to rest upon the immemorial rights of Englishmen, and could be only with very great difficulty done away with by Parliament itself, if Parliament were ever perverse enough to try. The famous decision by Lord Mansfield in 1772 that there could be no slavery in England rested upon Common Law, not upon a law passed in Parliament.

The rank and file of the legal profession is composed of Barristers and Solicitors. Barristers are called to the Bar, as it is said, by one of the four Societies of the Middle Temple, Inner Temple, Lincoln's Inn, or Gray's Inn, after examination. They conduct business in court,

and also out of court. Leading barristers are made Queen's Counsel, called Q.C., and are paid higher fees, but no barrister's fees are legally recoverable. They are supposed to be free payments. Solicitors are, in fact, legal agents acting for clients, and employing barristers for them. They are admitted as solicitors after examination through the Incorporated Law Society, and pay annually a fee to Government for permission to practise. There is no distinction now between a solicitor and an attorney. Barristers may be disbarred by the "Benchers," or Governing Body of the Inn to which they belong, and solicitors struck off the roll by the Judges for misconduct.

Cases before the Chancery division and some other cases, turning solely on questions of law and not of fact, are tried by a Judge, or by Judges, without a Jury. Questions of fact, cases touching life and liberty, and cases involving damages, and some others are tried before a Jury. Juries are of three kinds, grand, common, and special. The Grand Jury is made up of Justices of the Peace, or of gentlemen possessing the qualification to be Justices, the Common or Petty Jury is summoned from ordinary householders rated at £30 a year for poor rate, freeholders of £10 a year and upwards, and leaseholders of £20 a year; the Special Jury is composed from rather richer people. The Jury have a most important function in guarding the lives, liberties, and property of their neighbours, and in punishing wrongdoers. We will consider a simple case of a criminal trial as an instance. A man arrested on suspicion of having committed a crime is brought before a magistrate, who, after hearing evidence which convinces him that there is real cause for suspicion, commits the man for trial. When the assizes come on a Grand Jury is sworn, con-

sisting of leading inhabitants of the county, not fewer than twelve nor more than twenty-three. The Judge delivers a charge to them, reciting the cases to be tried, and they briefly consider the evidence for the prosecution brought before the magistrate who has committed a prisoner. On this evidence they return either a *true Bill* against a prisoner, or *no true Bill*. In the latter case he is released at once. In the former case he is tried before a Petty Jury of twelve sworn men of the county. Jurymen are selected by the Under Sheriff. A prisoner or a suitor in a civil case is allowed to object to these, if he thinks that they are personally hostile to him, and in cases where local feeling runs high a trial may be removed to the Central Criminal Court in London, to escape local prejudice. The prisoner is prosecuted by a barrister and defended usually by a barrister. Men and women sometimes prefer to conduct their own cases, but it is seldom wise to do so. The barrister trained in the law knows best what to urge in their favour, and is interested sufficiently to do his best without being nervously over-interested as a prisoner must be. Evidence is brought by witnesses, who are put upon their oath, both for and against a prisoner, the Counsel engaged address the Jury, and the Judge sums up, pointing out the real bearing of all the evidence and explaining any points of law which may arise. The Jury are the sole judges of the facts of the case, the Judge of the points of law. If on the facts the Jury bring in a verdict of guilty, the Judge pronounces sentence.

Civil cases, disputes of all kinds, cases involving a claim for damages, and such matters, are usually tried before a Judge and Jury, and the respective cases are urged by Counsel and explained by the Judge in his summing up, much in the same manner as in a criminal trial, but the Jury

not the Judge assess damages. The costs of a civil action have generally to be paid by the unsuccessful party, but the Judge can make an order for both sides to pay their own costs. A poor man can sue, *in forma pauperis*, that is, with his expenses paid for him, but he will probably have to employ a solicitor to begin with to teach him how to manage it. Such proceedings are rightly jealously fenced by precautions against frivolous actions by persons with nothing to lose.

In civil cases an appeal may be made. Sometimes a Judge may give an order for a new trial, if the verdict is against the weight of evidence, or if important new facts appear after the trial. In that case the matter is tried again before a fresh Jury. In the case of an ordinary appeal, the case goes before the Court of Appeal, to be decided by the Judges without a Jury, and appeals may be carried on to the House of Lords, where the Law Lords give a final judgment.

Ecclesiastical cases, and cases from India and the Colonies, are carried on appeal before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which forms therefore the great Central Court of Appeal for the whole Empire.

There is no right of appeal in criminal cases. The administration of the criminal law would lose half its deterrent features if sentence could be indefinitely postponed, and perhaps escaped, by long appeals. Only a point of law may be reserved by the Judge, after a verdict of guilty, for further consideration. But in the case of a man condemned to death there is a sort of appeal to the Home Secretary, who may consider whether it is a case for exercising the mercy of the Crown. In the case of imprisonment, moving for a writ of *Habeas Corpus* can re-open the case, if there is any ground for supposing that

the law has not been complied with; and the prerogative of mercy can always release a prisoner. In reality the chances of an unjust conviction are very small. About one in four of the persons brought before a Magistrate are never committed for trial. Those committed have their case reviewed by the Grand Jury. They are tried before a Jury of their countrymen, under the direction of a Judge who belongs to a small, highly experienced, and very learned body, selected carefully from the best men of a very learned and capable profession. In some few cases if a man were convicted of some crime which he did not commit, it would be found that his conviction was owing to the fact that he was engaged in some other unlawful business, and that he consequently kept back evidence which would bear on one case for fear it should involve him in another. The whole practice of the English law is founded upon the supposition that a man is innocent until he is proved guilty. He is given every chance, and once tried and acquitted he can never be tried again for the same offence. The practice of some foreign countries is different, and they consider and treat everyone as guilty who is accused by the police, unless he can prove his innocence. In one way a Judge can imprison without trial. He can commit a person summarily for contempt of court. It is essential that the dignity of the person and office of a Judge, as representing the law, should be upheld. English Justice is too precious to us all to be exposed to the chance of insult or outrage.

The administration of Justice in the country is not solely in the hands of the Supreme Court, at least not directly. There are fifty-seven County Court Circuits, including the City of London Court, in which County Court Judges, appointed by the Lord Chancellor, adjudicate on matters

of small debts, bankruptcy, and cases involving small damages and disputes about money up to £50, and further in Admiralty and Chancery matters. These last can always be removed to the High Court by desire of the parties. There is seldom a Jury.

A County Court Judge is called Judge So-and-so, an ordinary Judge of the High Court is Mr. Justice, and is always knighted.

The County Courts are an invention of the present century, and are not to be confounded with the ancient County Courts which used to manage the affairs of the County.

Quarter Sessions are held in the county towns four times a year before the County Justices, presided over by a Chairman, or before the Recorder, in a borough, where such a person exists. A Grand Jury is sworn, and cases are tried before a Petty Jury, as at the Assizes; but more important matters cannot be heard at Quarter Sessions, murder, for instance, and manslaughter cannot. Appeals from the decisions of Licensing bodies, in the case of public-houses, are heard at Quarter Sessions, as also are appeals against their rating by ratepayers who think that they are assessed too highly. Petty Sessions are held frequently, in all country towns, by two or more Justices, to dispose of small cases of assault, drunkenness, poaching, stealing, nuisances, and the like. The Justices may dispose of cases summarily, or commit prisoners for trial at Quarter Sessions or Assizes. They are assisted by their clerk, who is a Solicitor.

The County Justices are nominated by the Lord Chancellor, on the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant, and are unpaid.

There are also Stipendiary Magistrates in most large

towns, who usually sit every day to dispose of similar business.

In all these cases the trial is conducted in accordance with the rules of English Justice, in open court, with witnesses giving evidence on oath, and an accused person can always employ counsel to speak for him.

Justices and Magistrates can also give orders for the temporary relaxation of certain regulations, with regard, for instance, to the keeping open of public-houses. They can give an order for an insane person to be removed to an asylum. They do practically give advice to applicants in small legal questions, and act as arbitrators in quarrels. They are legal witnesses to claims for pensions and annuities. The Justices of the Peace were formerly also *ex-officio* Guardians of the Poor. It is of the greatest public advantage to have persons of high character exercising these powers scattered about the country, and really efficient Justices ought to do much to preserve the general harmony of a neighbourhood by their influence. Their duties are strictly judicial, not political.

The machinery of Justice would be very incomplete without the police, who have special powers to maintain order, detect and prevent crime, and to arrest persons with a warrant granted by a court, or without warrant if engaged in wrong doing, or if acting in a decidedly suspicious manner. The police, however, are subject to actions for assault or other offences, like any other citizens, if they exceed their duty, and act in an unwarrantable manner. Any citizen may arrest a person actually engaged in committing crime, and every citizen is bound to come to the assistance of the police if called upon, to aid them in arresting criminals, or preventing a breach of the peace. The active co-operation of citizens is as essential to the

proper carrying out of justice as to other parts of good government. Passive assistance is too often denied. Many riotous assemblies are made harder to be dealt with by the police through the action of inconsiderate people who stand about to look on, and swell a crowd. The difficulty of securing active help for the police is well known. In fact the excellence of the machinery provided for keeping the peace on ordinary occasions, is one cause of the difficulty of keeping it on extraordinary emergencies. Our ancestors had to do all this for themselves. When, for instance, thirty or forty armed desperadoes, who were involved in the Gunpowder Plot, were traversing the Midland counties, there were no policemen or soldiers to send after them. The Sheriff of Worcestershire had to call up gentlemen, farmers, tradesmen, and labourers to bring arms, and aid him in storming the house where these men, careless of the lives of others as of their own, were prepared to fight to the last. What we gain in security is a little counterbalanced by the loss of a sense of national duty.

But there are other duties, connected with the administration of justice, which are not at all heroic, but which if shunned tend to the injury of the community. The whole fair and humane attitude of English law towards criminals is based on the idea that the community do not sympathise with crime, and will not be afraid of suppressing it either. Witnesses and Jurymen are expected to do their duty fearlessly and honestly. Where secret societies have established a reign of terror, there the action of the law must be sharper and stricter, and precautions must be taken to avoid a miscarriage of justice. It is the old story, personal liberties, like political liberties, are in the hands of those who enjoy them. They can preserve them by doing their duty, and will impair them if they fail in their duty.

Many people have a strong dislike to giving evidence. They do not like the trouble and notoriety and loss of time. All dislike being summoned on Juries, the loss of time and money is often serious. But it is not a loss exactly. It is of the utmost importance that all available evidence should be tendered in a case, to ensure the doing of justice; it is still more important that honest and sensible men should give a careful consideration to that evidence as Jurymen. Witnesses and Jurymen can of course be compelled to attend; but the true duty of an Englishman is not bounded by the extent to which he can be compelled to do a public duty. He should cheerfully do all in his power to further the proper carrying out of a system on which the liberties and properties of the whole nation depend. If he is acting in an army of which the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chief Justice are the commanding officers under the Queen, an army whose marching orders are summed up in the clauses of Magna Charta, declaring that no man is to be tried except by Judgment of his Peers and by the Law of the Land, he is surely doing work of which he ought to be proud. The citizens of no other country, except the United States, have the privilege of doing it in quite the same entirety.

CHAPTER XI.

TAXATION AND RATES.

THOUGH much public work is expected to be done in England without payment, yet the machinery of government, and the care for the defence and order of the country, must be expensive. These expenses are discharged by the money raised by taxation. The expenses of local government are discharged by the money raised by the rates.

In old days, when the machinery of the central government was very simple, there were no ordinary taxes, and rarely extraordinary taxes levied for a particular occasion. The early English kings had large estates of their own, and maintained their courts, rewarded their followers, and endowed the Church, out of what we should call their private property. The calls of the State upon the public support were extremely limited. All landholders had to give personal service in war, and service or money in building fortifications and in repairing bridges. But that was all, as a rule. Money, however, was sometimes raised to pay off the Danes, probably by a sort of land-tax, and the tax was continued for other purposes. With the introduction of the Feudal System certain payments were introduced, due from those who held land of the Crown. Privileges of trade and of self-government were granted by kings to towns, and a promise of money was exacted in return. Many offences were punishable by fines, and these

finances were supposed to find their way to the king's treasury. This was a bad system, for it gave the Crown an interest in getting people punished, and it reached its worst development as late as Charles the First's reign, when fines levied by the Star Chamber for the infraction of obsolete laws, formed an important part of the Royal Revenue. The general policy of the kings was to commute as much as they could of feudal services into money payments, but all the payments due from feudal tenants to their lord were according to a fixed scale, and the barons stoutly withstood their arbitrary increase. At no time had the Crown an unlimited right in theory of taking the money of the subjects. Thomas-a-Becket, the famous Archbishop, was the first person who made a successful stand against unwarrantable taxation, and a Bishop of Lincoln in Richard the First's reign was the second. The Great Charter declared that payments beyond the accustomed feudal dues could only be granted by the Common Council of the Realm, and the famous Confirmation of the Charters under Edward I. confirmed this right to Parliament. When Royal power had grown, and the importance of Parliament decreased, under the Yorkist and Tudor Sovereigns, money was very often exacted from individuals, or even classes, in an illegal manner, but without serious opposition. But an attempt to levy a general tax, without consent of Parliament, provoked a storm before which even Wolsey and Henry VIII. gave way, 1525. Under the Stewarts the undoubted practice of the past hundred and twenty years furnished the Crown Lawyers with precedents for raising money in various ways without consent of Parliament. But the Long Parliament, in 1641, made all these methods distinctly illegal, and the Bill of Rights, in 1689, again and finally confirmed the doctrine that all Supplies must be

voted by the House of Commons. Supplies are either voted year by year, or are raised under Acts of Parliament which authorize them until the Act is repealed. The money is appropriated by votes of the House to special services, or is paid for special purposes under the permanent Acts. For instance, the public creditors and the Judges are paid under permanent Acts. By a standing order of the House of Commons no money is voted except in answer to the demand of the Crown, made through the Ministers. The various branches of Revenue are paid into one Consolidated Fund. The public accounts are audited every year through the Audit and Exchequer Office, so as to insure that the money is spent in accordance with the votes of the House of Commons. The House of Commons votes all the taxes, the House of Lords does not meddle with this business at all, though the members of the House of Lords of course pay taxes, but their interests are fairly represented by the richer members of the House of Commons. It is a safe rule that those who pay for government should have a voice in government. Like other sound political rules it is founded on fact, for those who pay will control in the long run, or will cease to pay. They will make their influence felt in one way or another, or will remove their wealth from the control of those who tax it against their will. In despotically governed countries the unlimited right of the Government to raise money prevents the accumulation of wealth at all, by people who feel that it may be taken from them. This result may be produced by any Government which uses the power of the strongest without regard to the rights of others, and capital may be driven out of any business, and the business put an end to in any country, by reckless taxation of those who have embarked upon it.

The taxes which are raised for the public service are called the Queen's Taxes. Though the Queen's Taxes are appropriated for certain public purposes, and not paid into the pockets of the Monarch as they used to be, still the Crown has a revenue of its own, partly from private sources, partly voted by Parliament. The sums voted by Parliament, however, for the maintenance of the dignity of the Crown, are instead of the large private estates which the Crown has surrendered to the nation, and which now bring in a larger sum than is voted by Parliament to the Crown. As it is the income of the Crown is not so large as that of some private persons.

The taxes may be divided into two principal classes, direct and indirect. The direct taxes are those which are paid directly to some officer of the Public Revenue. Such are the Income Tax, or tax of so much in the pound upon all incomes above a certain value. Very small incomes are not taxed, partly from the consideration that in a very small income there is not much margin over after providing the bare necessities of life, partly because the cost and trouble of collection would hardly be repaid by the amount collected. Then there is an Inhabited House Duty, and a Land Tax. The Revenue derived from the Post-office may be considered a direct tax upon our correspondence. For as a matter of fact it does not cost the Government a penny to convey a letter. The stamp, or rather a great number of the stamps taken together, pay for their own manufacture and sale, for the carrying of correspondence, and leave a handsome sum over for the use of Government. The telegraphic branch of the Post-office is not profitable. This is instructive as illustrating the limits of effective governmental control. The Post-office organised a service of men, to use means of communication which private

enterprise had already set going. The telegraphic branch has had to buy lines, and to maintain them, and to make new lines where wanted. Private enterprise can more easily adapt itself to fresh needs and inventions than a Government Department can, which depends upon the voting of a Budget year by year. The extension of the system of telephones in England, for instance, has been hampered by the fact of Government controlling all electric communication. The inference is that State purchase and making of railways would not be economical, nor profitable to the State, nor lead to railway enterprise being extended. The comparison of foreign State Railways with the Midland or North Western Railway, for instance, is not encouraging to the idea of introducing the foreign system here. But apart from postage stamps, the Stamp Duties are an important branch of the Revenue. A great many kinds of legal and financial business are invalid unless the documents bear a stamp which is bought from a Government Office. Another way of raising money is by Succession and Probate Duties, a proportion levied upon all money and land passing by will from a dead person to his representatives.

Licenses for many purposes, for using guns, shooting game, keeping dogs, selling beer, spirits, tobacco, and wine, keeping a man-servant or a carriage, and for other purposes, are direct taxes upon the person who pays them. When we consider that it is solely through the action of the law, and of an orderly Government, that money can pass from a man to his heirs without a scramble among claimants, that the law secures a man in the possession of his property, and that all the transactions of business life are only carried on under the protection of Government and the regulation of the law, it is clear that all such

matters are fairly made the object of taxation. Licenses are mostly required for what are luxuries after all, not a necessity of life to anyone. Where a dog is a necessity, as to a shepherd, or to a blind man, he can be kept without a license.

Indirect taxes are those which are paid indirectly by the users of taxed articles. The spirit duty is a direct tax upon the spirit merchant, an indirect tax on those who buy spirits, because they have to pay more for them because of the tax. Customs and Excise are the chief forms of indirect taxation. Certain goods have to pay duty on coming into the country, or if made in the country are subject to a payment from the makers. All such goods are of course raised in price, in proportion to the duty levied upon them. Many people in England are hardly ever called upon to pay direct taxes, but pay indirectly whenever they smoke a pipe of tobacco or drink a glass of beer. Indirect taxes can be raised in amount without being immediately felt by the greater number of people, so long as they are not raised upon necessities of life. Formerly, when there was a high duty on corn, it was an indirect tax, the results of which were felt everywhere in increased prices, even by the farmers. It is impossible to raise the price of necessities without raising the price of everything else, and the farmer who under the Corn Laws sold his wheat at sixty shillings a quarter, paid more for his tea, his tobacco, his shirt, and his watch, and probably could not buy machinery or artificial manures at all. The old idea of finance was to tax goods coming into the country, so as to stop them coming in if possible, and to cause people to produce them in the country. The effect is to turn away labour and capital from occupations where they can be most profitably employed, and to divert them to channels where for a like

effort they produce less result. This is called Protection. In France, for instance, the native industry of producing sugar from beetroot is protected, with the result that all French people consume dear and inferior sugar, and the confectionery trade is largely driven away to England, where imported sugar is better and cheaper. The Frenchmen who produce bad and dear sugar could be more profitably employed in the industries for which France possesses natural advantages. Though we still tax certain articles brought into the country, it is for the purpose of raising a revenue, not to protect native industries, which if they really produce what people want will flourish without Protection. It has been said that every uninstructed person is naturally a Protectionist, so far as his own trade is concerned. It may be so, and perhaps if it had not been for the increase of our manufacturing population, and for the pressure of the Corn Laws, we might have remained a Protectionist country. The introduction of Free Trade was the great service done by the middle classes when they were powerful in Parliament between 1832 and 1867. There is some cause for fear that newer influences in Parliament are inclining to Protection, not in the shape of direct duties, but in the way of regulating trade and hampering it by restrictions, which do not allow men or masters to employ capital and labour as they naturally would do if left to themselves. The aggregate of national wealth, in spite of distress and of bad times, has increased enormously, and the standard of comfort has everywhere been raised in England, under a system of liberty in trade corresponding to our liberty in politics. The spirit which underlies the two is identical, and it is certain that a system of leading strings, and intermeddling, cannot be introduced in one without reflecting harmfully upon the other. We hear a

great deal of bad times and of unemployed labourers. We do not now know what bad times are as a nation. The average income of the classes living upon weekly wages is far higher than it was fifty years ago, and the death rate of our most neglected districts is no higher than the death rate of the whole population in the Middle Ages of "Merry England." We have got so far by an advance in personal, political, and commercial liberty, and we may get further on the old road, or try a new one with uncertain results.

Occasionally the amount raised by taxation of any kind in a year by a nation will not be found sufficient for the expenses of the year. Governments then borrow, and borrow often recklessly, in excess not only of what they can repay, but in excess of the amount upon which they can conveniently pay interest.

The power and prosperity of Holland, for instance, was seriously interfered with by the amount of her debt. The mismanagement of the French debt was one of the causes which hurried on the Revolution. Italy is seriously hampered in her prosperity and development by debt. We have been inconvenienced by our National Debt, and are inconvenienced still, and should be in serious difficulties if our foreign trade fell off much more, or if domestic confidence were impaired, so as to restrict business at home.

Our National Debt, as it is called, is very large, but our national credit stands so high that we can borrow at a very low rate of interest.

Still, much money has to be raised every year to pay the interest, and though capital is not sent out of the country to a great amount, yet it is diverted to some extent from its natural course, by being taken in taxes from the whole

community and returned to the limited number who have money invested in the Funds, that is who are creditors of Government. A large amount of National Debt has been paid off in recent years, and more may be paid off soon, and the rate of interest has been lowered to the advantage of the community. It is needless to say that a country must stand by its engagements, as a private man must if he can. The penalty is the same in both cases. Loss of confidence and respect, future difficulty in raising money, or in inducing foreigners to invest money in the country, and, worst of all, a loss of self-respect. The nation which is not ashamed of itself when it cheats its creditors, has no self-respect to begin with. The National Revenue for 1892-93 was as follows:

RECEIPTS.	EXPENDITURE.
Customs . . . £19,715,000	National Debt . . £25,200,000
Excise . . . 25,360,000	Naval Defence Fund 1,429,000
Stamps . . . 13,805,000	Other Consolidated
Land Tax . . . 1,040,000	Fund Services . . 1,677,000
House Duty . . 1,410,000	Army . . . 17,542,000
Income Tax . . 13,470,000	Navy . . . 14,302,000
Post-office . . 10,400,000	Civil Service,
Telegraphs . . 2,480,000	Education, &c. 17,780,000
Crown Lands . . 430,000	Customs and In-
Interest on Suez	land Revenue . . 2,616,000
Canal Shares, &c. 220,000	Post-office . . . 6,513,000
Miscellaneous . . 2,065,000	Telegraphs . . . 2,595,000
<hr/> Total £90,395,000 <hr/>	Packet Service . . 721,000
	<hr/> Total £90,375,000 <hr/>

The sum total of the money raised by taxes and expended in the United Kingdom in the course of a year, £90,000,000 about, seems enormous. But people talk loosely when they speak of this being spent as if it were the expenditure of a private person, passing out of his

power altogether. The greater part of this money comes from the community, passes through the hands of Government, and returns to members of the community in return for services rendered to all. It is not unproductive expenditure exactly. The money spent in education, and in furthering the easy doing of business and the security of life, such as the money spent on the Post-office and by the Board of Trade, to take two obvious examples, is or should be directly productive. The money spent on an efficient system of government, law, and police, makes lives more easy and secure, and tends to the increase of wealth. The money spent on the army and navy is no more unproductive than the sums spent by a prudent man of business upon the insurance of his goods and premises. We ought all to be richer, in the best sense, for money spent wisely upon public purposes. Even the money spent in paying the interest upon the National Debt is essential for maintaining the public credit, upon which all our business ultimately depends. Yet people talk foolishly sometimes, as if all the money raised by the taxes were thrown into the sea. What the nation is vitally interested in obtaining is a wise application of public money, properly controlled by the only competent body, a House of Commons which can freely and fully, and with knowledge, criticise the Estimates.

Side by side with the taxes we may briefly consider the rates which pay we for purposes of local government. Rates are a kind of local tax, levied by some body which has received powers from Parliament to raise them, sometimes to an unlimited amount, sometimes only up to a certain limit. They are payable to County Councils, Town Councils, other local councils such as Parish Councils, London Parish Vestries, School Boards, District Councils,

and Guardians of the Poor. They provide poor relief, roads, drainage, water, education, public open spaces, libraries, and other things of local advantage. Rates are levied exclusively upon real property, that is upon land, and houses, and other things erected on land, such as advertisement hoardings,* telephone wires, railway works and so on. The rateable value of property is its annual letting value, with a certain deduction made from it, usually about one sixth of its full value, for the possible letting value is of course more than the actual value over a term of years. So much in the pound is then demanded by the overseers of the parish, through the rate collector, upon this value. Many people do not pay rates on the bulk of their property if it does not happen to consist of lands or houses, and it is common for small occupiers of houses not to pay rates. The owner pays for them and adds something to their rent to repay himself. If possible an occupier should pay his own rates, and obtain a corresponding reduction of his rent. It is better that a man should be brought face to face with the expense of the government which he himself helps to carry on, and feel directly the burden of the rates which he helps to impose through his representatives.

All local rates are audited through the Local Government Board.

Direct taxation of all kinds leads to more economical administration than do indirect payments. Of course indirectly all men will pay rates, from whatever hands they immediately come. If a man does not pay them directly he still will pay them in higher rent, or worse accommodation, or in less employment, for the ratepayers'

* The glaring placards which deface our country with advertisements of soap and pills should be rated.

pockets are not the source of an inexhaustible supply of money.

But because the rates are employed for purposes of universal interest, and because personal property, invested money for instance, does not pay them, the rates are supplemented by payment from the Imperial Taxes. In France the whole plan is different, and perhaps rather better, and what answer to our rates are a sum paid by every taxpayer in proportion to the amount he pays in taxes, supplemented by what is a bad plan, a kind of local customs duty on goods entering towns and villages. The real object to be aimed at in taxes and rates is to spread the expense of government widely over all who have a voice and interest in government, with some consideration for those whose property is only just above the necessary amount to insure them a living, and with a corresponding increase on those who have a superfluity. We partly attain this in England, where the rich man, with a big house or land, is heavily rated, and pays in licenses, in succession duty, and in income tax—taxes which the poor man is directly free from entirely. But it must always be borne in mind that all taxation affects the whole community, for it withdraws wealth from business and from employment in providing wages.

The attitude of a citizen towards the rate-collector and the tax-collector is not always what it should be. In some countries, and in many countries formerly, the tax-collector has had to pay himself out of what he collects, and so naturally has tried to collect too much. Here they are paid officials, who can only ask for what they are legally entitled to receive. If a man considers that he is assessed too highly for rates, he can appeal to the Quarter Sessions

against his rating, and carry the appeal to the higher courts if necessary. He can appeal too against his assessment for income tax, but he himself first makes the return of his taxable income, and if he does that honestly he need fear no over-taxation. Some people who would think twice about defrauding a neighbour, think little of defrauding the community, just as some think little of defrauding a railway company. To bring in some trifling amount of tobacco from abroad, without paying the duty, is looked upon as a good joke. It is a very bad joke, for it is petty swindling of a man's country, and all such pieces of cunning are entirely unworthy of an honest man. To preserve his self-respect a man should be scrupulously honest in discharging his obligations to the State in all forms, the more so that the State is less likely to detect him than his neighbour would be if he tried to cheat him.

CHAPTER XII.

THE HISTORY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT; MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS.

THE matters which we have been considering concern chiefly the general government of the whole country, but our duty is perhaps to be more generally done in connexion with questions of local government. Though Parliament is the supreme power in the State, yet much of the local government of the country is of necessity delegated by Parliament to local bodies of one sort or another. The government of towns, counties, parts of counties and parishes, and the raising of rates for the expenses of these governments, the care of the poor by Guardians, and the administration of education by School Boards, with the raising of the necessary rates, are matters of too great importance to be done hurriedly by Parliament in the intervals of national business, and too full of detail to be adequately managed in the brief space of time which Parliament could afford to bestow upon them. Parliament has therefore laid down rules by law under which the local bodies work, and the Home Office and the Local Government Board, and the Committee of the Council on Education, composed of officials responsible to Parliament, superintend their working.

Now this local government lies at the very root of all our institutions, and is the basis probably of those habits

which enable us to make our institutions work. Some of the smaller political divisions of England are in fact older than any organised kingdom of England. There is no doubt that counties, like Kent and Sussex and Essex, were organised political bodies before there was any kingdom of England at all. It is probable that, small subdivisions, as we consider them, of some counties were partially self-governing communities before even the old counties existed. It is possible that in the Parish Vestry of some old parishes, a body which has now finally lost the last remains of any political position, we have the relic of an assembly older than the House of Lords, and far older than the House of Commons. Some counties, such as the midland counties, were probably deliberately made, as administrative divisions of the kingdom, when the West Saxon kings conquered the Dances in the tenth century; but the general history of Great Britain has been a history of the bringing together of smaller bodies, not the subdivision of bigger bodies. People learned to govern in smaller areas, and had to gradually adapt the government of these to a union of continually increasing numbers and of wider interests. This process is still going on, and we may have perhaps in the future to study the question of providing for the expansion of the British Constitution to meet the needs of the extended British Empire. The history of our local administration is therefore most interesting as containing that of the beginnings of our whole Constitutional Government. A learned German, Gneist, who has made an exhaustive study of our Constitutional history, has found the secret of the whole of our Constitutional development in the self-governing habits of the people fostered originally in their small local assemblies. We ought still to consider that whenever we

take part in Town Council or County Council business, in parish meetings or Parish Councils, we are not only doing necessary local business, but training ourselves to be more worthy citizens of the British Empire.

It would be very interesting, but is beyond our present subject, to go into the whole question of local self-government in ancient times. It will be sufficient to notice it briefly, but to point out that the same lesson meets us which we have learned from the consideration of the history of national government, that people gain and lose influence to a great extent when they deserve to have it or not.

English counties were each long ago divided into several Hundreds, or as they were called in the North, Wapentakes. Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Kent, and Sussex, had other subdivisions, called Ridings, Parts, Lathes, and Rapes respectively, containing several Hundreds, but we are not concerned with these. The Hundreds were made up of a great many smaller areas called parishes or townships. Sometimes the parishes and townships comprised one and the same district, sometimes not quite the same. There was a Shire Court or County Court in the county—not to be confounded with the modern County Court where small disputes are decided and small debts recovered—and to this County Court representatives from different townships in the county came together, and most, but not all, freeholders in the country had the right, or the burden as they sometimes thought it, of attending also. The Sheriff, or Shire Reeve, appointed by the King, presided, and the Alderman or Earl, who was generally the chief landowner, was with him. So was the Bishop, if as sometimes was the case the shire contained a Bishop's See. This County Court judged cases of crime or dispute in the county, first by themselves, latterly in the

presence of the King's Judges, they arranged for common needs of defence, and for common contributions in men and money to the needs of the kingdom. Later when Parliaments began, the County Court elected the county members, and sometimes the borough members for boroughs in the county. When the Plantagenet kings organised the central government of the country more efficiently, the interest in the business of the County Court declined, men failed to attend, unless they were men of note and influence, and its functions dwindled except as an electoral body. Those of us who can remember the old days of public nomination of county members at the Hustings, which was only abolished in 1872, can remember the last, somewhat irregular, meetings of the old County Court, and the confusion and riot which reigned supreme on those occasions suggest one reason for the collapse of its influence. But every large assembly, to which a great number of people have a right to come, especially if they come from a large extent of country, has a tendency to dwindle down into a smaller assembly of the leading people who can easily afford to come, and whose voices will be influential in the meeting if they attend it. The influential people who continued to attend the County Court, were separately organised into a body of County Justices by Edward III. in 1360, and the petty judicial and administrative work of the county went into their hands. Justices must have house or land to the value of £100 a year. They are unpaid, and the office entails expenses besides responsibilities. They represent the people with means and leisure into whose hands county business naturally fell. Yet down to the County Council Act of 1888 the election of the County Coroner by the county was a relic of the old state of things. The Sheriff still continued, and continues,

to be appointed by the Crown in each county, as the chief executive officer of the law. He has to welcome the Judges, and entertain them on circuit. He through the Deputy or Under Sheriff, whom he appoints, is responsible for the summoning of the Grand Jury and Petty Juries (see in Law and Justice above), and if no one else could be found to undertake the job he is liable to have to hang condemned murderers with his own hands. In the reign of Queen Mary a Lord-Lieutenant was appointed to every county. He is supposed to be chief military commander of the county. The last occasion when a Lord-Lieutenant actually commanded the county levy against a foreign enemy was when Lord Cawdor arrayed the militia, and the old women of Pembrokeshire dressed in red cloaks to imitate soldiers at a distance, against a descent of the French in Fishguard Bay in 1796. The Lord-Lieutenant used to nominate all officers to the county militia, and he does so still on their first appointment, subject to the regulations of the War Office, and he still recommends the names of persons to the Lord Chancellor to be appointed as County Justices. The Lord-Lieutenant is appointed for life, the Sheriff for one year. Both offices are not only unpaid, but a cause of great expense to the holders.

The Hundred Courts of old were also partly representative bodies, partly attended by certain freeholders as a right. Both to them and to the County Court men who were not only not freeholders, but not personally free, sent representatives, and came as representatives themselves. The Hundred Courts were practically responsible for the police of their districts. Constables of each Hundred existed till the present century. The County Police Act of 1856 finally abolished them. The judicial business of the Hundreds, however, was finally taken over by the

Justices in Quarter and Petty Sessions, and the police business has left but one trace, the only existing relic indeed of the Hundreds, except in the map. If a man's house is burnt or injured by a mob he can still recover damages from the Hundred in which it stands.

The meeting of the inhabitants of a township continued through the Middle Ages, but chiefly to manage their common agricultural interests. The growth of the manorial system, of manors under a lord of the manor, threw control more and more into the hands of the lord and his steward. In times of confusion the powerful lord who could afford armour, horses, and weapons, and trained men-at-arms, and who could fortify his house, or even get leave to build a castle, was the natural protector of the neighbourhood. Often, no doubt, the oppressor too, but more power went into his hands because he was powerful already, and men sometimes surrendered their personal liberty for the sake of his protection. The manor still remains, with certain limited rights of property in the lord of the manor; and it still has its Manorial Court, or Court Baron, composed of the copyholders, or limited owners of the manor, under the steward. This court regulates the admission of new copyholders and the treatment of the waste land of the manor, according to the different customs of the manor in different places, but its interest is rather antiquarian than political.

The meeting of the township continued in another form as the Parish Vestry. This continued to be a living organization, because the area with which it was concerned was small enough to allow of the continued personal attendance of parishioners, and because it was concerned with one class of business, the relief of the poor, which

was of very great local interest. It had controlled ecclesiastical business as well as civil, and it often met in church, or when that began to be considered indecorous, in the vestry of the church. The incumbent of the parish naturally presided, and it grew to be considered that he had a right to preside. He used, of course, to be often the only man of education in a country place, and his presidency was not the result of priestly usurpation, but of the natural supremacy of education. The vestry continued to do civil business, to regulate highways, and to appoint surveyors of highways, to appoint churchwardens and assistant overseers of the poor, to levy church rates and poor rates, and to manage parish property.* Now, since the Local Government Act of 1894, the vestry is confined to the election of churchwardens for ecclesiastical business, and to other ecclesiastical matters. The rate-payers of the parish, men and women, were qualified to meet in the vestry, and are still qualified. Several parishes were joined together into Poor Law Unions in 1834 for the administration of the Poor Law, and elected Boards of Guardians for the purpose. A Union sometimes extended beyond the limits of a county, and parishes themselves were some times in more than one county.

In one class of townships, however, the general meeting of the inhabitants not only continued, but managed to exercise power and to gain more. Our earliest towns were organized precisely like the country districts. But towns were places where comparatively wealthy trading people were gathered together. They lived in a small compass, so that they were able to defend themselves with town

* Compulsory church rates were abolished in 1868, but churchwardens are still obliged to impose a rate if needed, though no one need contribute to it if they do not wish to do so.

walls, and they could afford armour and weapons. Consequently they did not need the protection of a lord with his men-at arms and castle, and they had money wherewith to purchase more rights of self-government, especially from the king. Moreover, living in a community they were more active-minded and better educated than the scattered country people. They had the elements of strength, and so they became strong and managed their own affairs. They purchased charters and became corporate towns. Often one class of people in the town acquired power over others. Merchant guilds, or trading companies, and guilds of craftsmen, or trades unions as we should call them, contended for power. Sometimes one class of citizens, sometimes another, got the upper hand, but those who had got it invariably tended to become a narrow, exclusive body, a kind of aristocracy of trade or labour, regulating the life and work of those outside their body. Some of these others migrated in consequence to country villages, and raised these into towns, and themselves became the founders of new limited corporations. Throughout England, however, there was great variety in the constitutions of the different incorporated towns, till in 1835 the Municipal Corporations Act reformed them all upon one system.

By that year the importance and size of the towns having much increased, and the general education of townspeople having increased with their wealth, the process of restoring local self-government among those who were worthy of it may be said to have begun in earnest.

The ratepayers of corporate towns,* men and women,

* There is no real distinction between a corporate town and a city. A town which contains a Bishop's See is by common usage called a city.

were empowered to elect a Town Council of Councillors, holding office for three years, from one to six Councillors for each separate ward in the town. The Council so elected appoints a Court of Aldermen, holding office for six years, either out of their own body or from outside it, and the Council and Aldermen elect a Mayor for each year to preside over them. The Mayor alone is paid, for he is expected to dispense hospitality and head subscriptions in the name of the Town, and he generally spends more than he receives. A Mayor is a Justice of the Peace, by virtue of his office, for the year of his Mayoralty and for the year succeeding, and can try small cases. Many of the Aldermen are appointed Justices too. The Town Council appoints a paid Town Clerk, who acts as their chief Secretary, and a paid Borough Treasurer, who is responsible for the public accounts of the Town.* The business of Town Councils is varied and important. The paving, lighting, draining, and cleansing of the Borough, the organization of the Police Force, of the Fire Brigade, the care of cemeteries, the control of slaughterhouses, the proper distribution of water, and sometimes the whole water supply, are in their hands.

* One Corporation still differs in many respects from all others. The Corporation of the City of London, from its antiquity and importance, was felt to stand in a peculiar position. The City of London is not thickly inhabited by residents who sleep there, but it is thronged in the daytime by crowds who have their homes elsewhere. It is the richest spot on earth, and the most important in the business of the whole world. It has played a part in English history, too, which has raised its privileges into a matter of national sentiment. The voluntary expenditure of the London Corporation for the benefit of Londoners, as in making the Tower Bridge, and in acquiring open spaces round London, has done much to justify its peculiar treatment. As part of an extended Corporation its influence would be less felt for good, but its incorporation with the rest of London, in some way or another, is probably only a question of time.

The Corporation of Liverpool for instance has created Lake Vyrnwy, in Wales, and supplies thence not only Liverpool, but a district of more than one hundred square miles with water. The Sanitary Acts generally are enforced through the Corporation, new streets are made, and parks and pleasure grounds provided by them. Baths, wash-houses, public libraries, and hospitals may be erected by them. Improved dwellings for the poorer classes may be built, as has been done on a large scale in Glasgow. Markets may be provided and maintained for the readier distribution of food supplies. Some Corporations have embarked on large schemes for improving the trade of their towns. Such is the Manchester Ship Canal, designed to make inland Manchester a seaport, such are some of the docks at Liverpool, and the improved navigation of the Clyde up to Glasgow. All these matters are provided for out of the rates. The accounts of all these have to be checked. Many officials and inspectors have to be appointed and superintended. The many public buildings necessary for these purposes have to be built and kept in repair. The Town Council of a great Corporation is often housed in a magnificent Town Hall. Their work requires a great deal of space, and it is well that so important a division of public business should be provided with a stately home, for imagination plays a large part in human affairs, and a Sovereign without the pomp of royalty, a Judge without his robes, and a Town Council without their Town Hall would be less respected than they should be. The income, expenditure, and volume of business of a great corporate town are equal to those of some considerable European States of a hundred years ago. No wonder that all this amount of real work trains those who take part in it for even larger and still more important national affairs,

Most considerable Corporations have their public debt incurred by borrowing large sums on the security of the rates for carrying out great schemes. But there is some danger when Corporations embark upon money-making schemes, such as the gas supply for instance, or tramways, that they may hamper private enterprise; and through the changes incidental to a body freshly elected at short intervals may fail in efficiency and economy compared with a permanently established private business. There is the possible danger too of corruption, from the desire to conciliate voters who may be privately interested in such public schemes. And the suspicion of corruption is nearly as damaging to the public interest as its existence. It is often wise for Corporations to confine themselves to kinds of business which are too large to be readily embarked upon by private capitalists, or so important for the public well-being, like the Liverpool water supply, as to make it expedient that they should be under public control.

CHAPTER XIII.

COUNTY, DISTRICT, AND PARISH COUNCILS.

AS a previous generation saw the reform of that part of local self-government which had continued to exist in the towns, so the present generation has seen the resuscitation of the local self-government of country districts. The increase of public spirit, and the increased efficiency of local government, under the Municipal Corporations Reform Act of 1835, were so evident as to make it certain that the measure would be ultimately copied in country places. Local Boards of Urban Districts were first erected, under separate Acts of Parliament, giving a kind of corporate existence to smaller towns. The ratepayers were empowered to elect Boards every three years, with authority to look after paving, lighting, water supply, cemeteries, and other objects, the exact powers of the Board differing in different places. The idea of extending the system to the counties was long entertained as possible some day, as the education and public spirit of the country population increased, following behind that of the towns of course, where intelligence is sharpened by constant contact of men with men, but still increasing. The extension of railways and of newspapers gradually obliterated the deeper distinctions between town and country. Mr. W. H. Smith's railway bookstalls were a not unimportant stone in the road of progress. It might have been well to have

resuscitated local self-government in the country before the extension of the parliamentary franchise to rural householders, but when once that was done in 1884 and 1885, the other followed as a matter of course. In 1888 the Local Government Act, commonly called the County Councils Act, practically extended the municipal system to the counties. The chief part of county administration was taken out of the hands of the nominated Justices, and put into the hands of elected Councillors.

Under this Act the whole of England was divided into county districts. Smaller counties were left alone, the larger were divided into more manageable fractions. There are sixty-one County Councils, including the County of London and some others which are really town districts. All the larger boroughs are erected into counties also, and their Town Councils exercise also the functions of a County Council.

Every three years the ratepayers, and those entitled to vote in parliamentary elections from the £10 occupation qualification, elect County Councillors, one in each ward into which the county is divided. The Councillors elect the County Aldermen, who sit for six years, either from their own body or from outside it, and they elect a Chairman for a year. Peers and clergymen, who cannot be elected to the House of Commons, are eligible. To these Councils were transferred large powers, formerly exercised by the Justices in Quarter Sessions, and certain new powers besides. They maintain county buildings, such as a County Council Hall, Lunatic Asylum, Industrial Schools, and they keep up County Bridges. They license theatres, and grant or suspend dancing and music licenses. They divide the county into polling districts for parliamentary elections. All this was done by the Justices.

The Council also keep up the main roads, can make provision to prevent the pollution of rivers, and appoint the Coroners and Medical Officers of Health, and manage technical education classes. These latter functions the Justices did not exercise. The County Council and Justices combine in the management of the County Police, but the Justices still license public-houses. The Council levy and expend the county rates for these purposes, can oppose bills in Parliament dealing with county matters, and can make bye-laws for county government. It was thought better that the newly-elected bodies, exercising such extensive powers, should be strengthened by the co-operation of tried administrators, and so the Justices were combined with the Council for certain purposes.

The practical self-governing instincts of English people has in the rural districts led to an harmonious co-operation of the older and the newer elements in county government, and those who have already proved themselves competent administrators have seldom been passed over in elections to the Councils.

In 1894 the fabric of restored local self-government was completed by the creation of District and Parish Councils, and of Parish Meetings, Urban Local Boards being transformed into District Councils, and the Parish Vestries being confined to ecclesiastical business. The Districts roughly answer to the old Poor Law Unions, though not precisely. District Councillors are elected for three years, but one third of their number, as nearly as possible, are to retire every year. They are elected by all who are on the parliamentary or local register as electors in the parishes composing the district, irrespective of sex or of married condition, but a husband and wife

may not be qualified as electors in respect of the same property. Women are eligible as District Councillors. Councillors must either be qualified electors of the district, or residents for twelve months within it. They may elect a Chairman, provided he be qualified as a Councillor, outside their own body, and the Chairman, if not a woman, is a Justice of the Peace *ex-officio*.

The District Councillors so elected act as Guardians of the Poor in their district. For this purpose they may elect a Chairman or Vice-Chairman, or both, and not more than two other additional Guardians from outside their own body, but from persons qualified to be Guardians of the District, provided that on the first occasion these additional Guardians shall be persons who have actually served as nominated or *ex-officio* Guardians of the Union already, if such persons are available. This provision is intended to secure continuity of policy between the new District Councils and the old Boards of Guardians. The District Council is also responsible for the maintenance of highways, superseding the old Highway Boards, for protecting rights of way and roadside wastes from encroachment, and for maintaining rights of common. They also supersede Urban and Rural Sanitary Boards, and become responsible for the enforcement of the Sanitary Acts. These Acts are of very great importance, and the control of infectious diseases, the reform of unsanitary dwellings, the providing of adequate drainage and water supply, among other things, are thus put under the control of those most immediately interested in them. Where a single rural parish formed a Rural Sanitary District the District Council now exercises the powers of a Parish Council for the parish, as well as those of a District Council.

Below the districts, however, the parishes form the

smallest unit of local organization. Every parish has its Parish Meeting, which must assemble once a year at least. All electors, registered either on the local or parliamentary register of electors in a parish, are eligible to attend and vote, irrespective of sex or married condition, provided as above that no husband and wife are qualified upon the same qualification. The Parish Meeting elects its own Chairman for the year, and except in the smallest parishes a Parish Council for one year. A poll of the qualified electors may be demanded at a Parish Meeting, and the subsequent election is by ballot.

The Parish Meeting has the power of adopting for the parish any of the Adoptive Acts; namely, the Acts for lighting and watching, for providing baths and washhouses, for providing a cemetery, for carrying out public improvements, such as pleasure grounds, cricket grounds, and such like, or for providing a public library. A parish of less than one hundred inhabitants has only a Parish Meeting and no Council, unless it votes for the establishment of a Council, and the County Council sees fit to establish one. A parish with a population between one hundred and three hundred need not have a Parish Council, but must have one if they ask for it. Every parish of three hundred inhabitants and upwards must have a Parish Council. In parishes which have no Council the Parish Meeting must meet at least twice a year. Small parishes may be grouped with a neighbouring parish or parishes under a Parish Council by the County Council, but only with the consent of the Parish Meeting of the parishes so grouped.

Where one part of a parish has a distinct local interest, and defined boundaries, an order of the County Council may forbid any action of the Parish Council affecting the

interests of that area, unless confirmed by a Parish Meeting of the part so affected. Parish Meetings are the more important part of the new parochial organization. The Parish Councils will chiefly carry out what the Parish Meetings determine upon being done, but under the supervision of the County Council to a great extent.

The Parish Council, of varying numbers from five to fifteen, fixed by the County Council, is elected from qualified electors in the parish, or from persons resident in the parish or within three miles of it, of either sex, for a year of office. The fifteenth of April is the normal date for entering on office, but the first elections are in November, 1894. They elect their own Chairman from their own body, or from persons qualified to be Councillors, and he holds his office for a year. The Council meets within seven days of its first election. It cannot meet before six o'clock in the evening, and must not meet on premises licensed for the sale of intoxicating drink. Its duties are to elect Overseers and Assistant Overseers of the Poor; to take over the duties of Churchwardens except with regard to ecclesiastical affairs—that is, chiefly business connected with poor relief—to provide for the management of parochial charities other than ecclesiastical charities; to hold parish property, not including ecclesiastical buildings nor elementary schools; to provide if necessary parochial buildings, fire engines or fire escapes; to take the place of the Churchwardens and Overseers with regard to appeals by them with respect to the valuation list for rates, or against the amount of the county rate; to provide for the management of village greens and for the acquisition of allotments; to deal with any water supply, saving the existing rights of any person; to deal with open drains, ditches, or pieces of stagnant water; and to acquire by

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agreement rights of way in the parish or in adjoining parishes which will be beneficial to inhabitants of the parish. The Parish Council also carries out the wishes of the Parish Meetings with regard to the Adoptive Acts. For such purposes the Council can raise money by rates in the parish within certain limits. If suitable land for allotments cannot be acquired by voluntary agreement, the Parish Council may try to obtain the sanction of the County Council for the compulsory acquisition of land. If the County Council refuses to sanction the arrangement, an appeal may be made to the Local Government Board. But in the cases where the Local Government Board overrides the objection of the County Council, the matter must be laid before Parliament, and may be debated there. The acquisition of a man's property without his consent is an important matter, more especially in reality for the comparatively poor, and needs to be very closely safeguarded against abuse.

If the District Council fails to keep up highways, or to carry out the Sanitary Acts, with respect to drainage and water supply, for instance, to the satisfaction of a Parish Council interested therein, the Parish Council may appeal to the County Council to make the District Council do its duty. The County Councils are thus the general supervisors and guardians as it were of the whole local administration in their respective counties.

The inhabitants of country districts are by these provisions given the power of making their own surroundings better and brighter, their lives more healthy and their minds better informed. It rests with them to work the machinery successfully, and new as some of them are to the give and take of public business, to the consideration, foresight, and spirit of compromise by which public affairs are made to

run smoothly and successfully, we may expect some mistakes to begin with and some friction. But it will be surprising if the self-governing faculties of Englishmen do not prevent as a rule Parish Meetings from degenerating into disorderly and unseemly wrangles, and Parish Councils from becoming the instruments of a few self-seeking agitators and jobbers.

One feature of our revived local government is the increased extent to which women take part in it. Women are deeply interested in many of the sanitary and social questions which form the chief sphere of action of local governments on a small scale. Yet women are excluded from any direct share in the national government. Certainly if they are to be in the future given the parliamentary franchise, it is going to work in the right way to train them first in local affairs, but it is a question whether women would not lose influence by gaining the parliamentary vote. Power, we must remember, depends far more upon character and influence than upon rights conferred by law. Women have great influence as it is, because they are a separate class from men, regarded with a peculiar reverence. With votes they would become merely a class of voters peculiarly susceptible to influence, and even to intimidation. Married women, those whom men have practically voted to be the best, and who certainly are as a rule more conversant with the problems of the world than unmarried women, would be excluded, unless an element of discord were to be introduced into every family or the voting power of married men doubled, than which worse things have been proposed. In local affairs, which are of a more simple and more domestic nature, and where sentiment has less chance of doing harm, the female vote does not differ much in its nature from the

male vote. With or without votes women may rest assured that they play an important part as mothers and guides of the citizen not only of to-morrow but of to-day.

There is yet another consideration connected with elections to local governing bodies. These matters are not political. The strong political partisan does not like to be told so, but in our cooler moments we all know it to be true. Local politics may be harmfully introduced into national politics, and a man may be supported for parliament by those who know that he entertains dangerous opinions on some great public matter, because they think that he is sound on some question of their local trade or railway. So it is mischievous to vote for a man as a member of some local body because he is Liberal or Conservative, without considering his ability to deal with local needs. A man's capacity to do good work in connection with highways, drains, and water supply, is not in the least affected by his views about the government of Ireland, the composition of the House of Lords, Bimetallism or the strength of the navy. In local matters, as in Imperial matters, we are all acting as trustees for others, for our neighbours and for our children; and in doing work, and in choosing others to do work, we should resolutely put on one side private dislikes and prejudices, self-interest above all, and also excessive deference to the claims of party allegiance intruding beyond its proper sphere. On political questions good and honest men will always differ. Ability is usually recognizable, high character is never disputable. As we said above, that a parliament of the men of the highest character in each constituency would be a good parliament, so locally governing bodies of thoroughly honest men will not go very far wrong in the long run, whatever incidental

mistakes they may make when new to their business. Nay more, responsibility is itself an ennobling influence, and those who are called upon to be responsible for their neighbours will become the better for gravely and manfully facing these responsibilities. Increased facilities for local self-government mean more work, and work honestly undertaken is a blessed thing, indeed a necessary thing, if a man is to be a man.

CHAPTER XIV.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT—continued.

THERE is one consideration often lost sight of in regard to the duties of these various locally governing bodies of which we have been speaking. Their duties are executive or administrative in the first place, but not legislative. They exist to carry out the laws, not to make them, as a rule. It is true that they can make bye-laws, as a railway company can, within certain limits allowed by Parliament. Bye-laws are so called from an old Scandinavian word meaning a town, which we find in such names as Derby and Rugby, and are laws applying only to a limited area, and not directly made by Parliament. Local bodies can often, in the light of their practical experience, find points where the public law might be amended, and they can petition Parliament to make such amendments. Town and County Councils can also be heard by Counsel before Committees of the two Houses of Parliament for or against the passing of certain Acts. They can adopt or not at their pleasure certain permissive Acts, such as the Act for establishing Public Libraries or the Allotment Acts. But it is a sound principle that we should have in Great Britain one supreme legislative body. Without it the law would soon differ widely in different parts of the country, and the sense and power of common action in the country for common national ends would be

undermined. We have seen how in old days the common patriotism of England was lost sight of amid conflicting and selfish local interests, and the history of the United States of America contains one great lesson at least, in the slavery question, of the danger to national unity springing from conflicting State interests. And this, though it is the chief, is not the only instance to that effect. Therefore local electors may remember that it is a mischievous neglect of duty, and waste of public time and energy, for local bodies to occupy themselves with denouncing the existing laws instead of carrying them out. People who do so should forfeit the support of their neighbours. Just as no single person's taste can be consulted by all laws made for the common good, so the wishes of a neighbourhood must give way to the common interest of the whole country. The habit of compromise, of give and take, of subordination of our own wishes in many ways, is part of the essential nature of a Constitutional Government. We can only enjoy a reasonable liberty in most things by curtailing our liberty in some things, and by granting liberty to others who differ from us. This lesson is well learned in managing local affairs which come home to our every-day life.

Indeed one of the most valuable features of local government is the training which it affords in state business. In the municipalities, which have enjoyed extensive powers of self-government since the Act of 1835, time has shewn how the men trained in the administrative affairs of their own town have been able to rise to the competent management of the affairs of the nation. The voters in these boroughs, on whichever side they may vote in parliamentary elections, are generally fairly steady in their party allegiance, that is, have adopted their policy on more rational grounds,

and so hold by it more strongly, than the electors who have lacked this local education. Nor is it wonderful that men trained in municipal affairs should have acquired some idea of the gravity of the issues of public life. For public business, even on a small scale, is important and difficult business, which requires training and practice before it can be done well.

If we are bound to understand as much as we can of great national questions, so we are bound to try and understand the smaller local questions of administration about which these local governments have to decide. They are easier to understand. Every man can judge with little difficulty of the merits of a scheme which affects his own parish or town, and whether or no it is worth the money which it will cost. Every man has a fair chance of judging of the personal character of men who offer themselves for election from the limited society of his own neighbourhood. A man may talk grandly about public affairs, but his lack of good judgment, or of ability to do business, may escape the notice of even honest enquirers who do not see him at work ; but the mere fluent talker about local affairs ought to be very soon found out. This local business is responsible business too, for it involves the interests of others besides ourselves, and involves the spending of the money of others too. It is a useful education also which we ought not to neglect. It is very possible that we may find that we and our representatives may make mistakes, and may mismanage our local affairs. It is a very useful thing to make mistakes, if we are ready to acknowledge them as mistakes, and to learn from them to do better. And it is better to make mistakes and to buy our experience, in local affairs than in national. For the former class of mistakes do less harm, and can

probably be set right, but the latter class of mistakes may do irreparable mischief, and if put right at all may only be able to be mended at the cost of war, or of years of loss and suffering. It is very difficult to repeal a bad law, and harder still, or impossible, to undo the mischief it has caused. Real acquaintance with the difficulties of government, wisdom, caution, consideration for others, are best learned amid affairs where mistakes are not likely to be absolutely ruinous.

The members of the Town, County, Parish and District Councils, or even of Parish Meetings, may be said to be serving their first apprenticeship in the actual work of administration; but there will probably always be among them some members who have already had experience on the wider field of the County's, or even of the Nation's business. We as electors shall probably do well to try and combine these two elements, of young, active men, who may have a useful public career before them, and well-trying, older men, who have seen real government work already. The electors must take a real and continued interest in this organization if they want it to work beneficially. If we do not, if we do not attend Parish Meetings, if we do not vote, or vote without consideration for any candidates, the work will fall into a few hands, which may be good ones or may be bad. Plainly, if people do not do their duty in attending to their local affairs, when those affairs are put in their power, they are encouraging a certain prevalence of petty jobbery and corruption. It is important to consider the obligations as well as the privileges which accompany local self-government. The work as we have seen was done, and is still partially done, by those who were likely to be capable of doing it, and who did not mind spending time and money in doing it. Even to be a Justice of the

Peace costs money indirectly, and time and trouble directly. The obligation to serve the State without reward was fully recognised. Now, the great advance in general education and prosperity has made many more people capable and willing to do public business, but we must be prepared to accept the burden with the privilege. We cannot honestly repay ourselves out of public money, nor out of contracts for doing public business which we ourselves set on foot. No doubt some people do so manage to pay themselves indirectly; but it is not the act of an honest man, and therefore certainly not of a good citizen. If all the people who carry on local business were allowed salaries, the burden would be enormous and the results corrupting, for it would be impossible to prevent men from making a paying profession of it, and using corrupt means and indirect bribes to get themselves continually re-elected. We should, and most men do, consider it sufficient reward and honour to be trusted by fellow-citizens to do business for them. And this business is very important. There are many public buildings necessary for the machinery of local government—Town Halls, County Halls, where Town Councils and County Councils meet, offices for their Clerks, Courts for the administration of Justice; there are too Lunatic Asylums, Industrial Schools, and Technical Schools, Hospitals, Baths, Wash-houses, Libraries. All these need sometimes to be built, always to be kept in repair, superintended, inspected. Their condition will afford an index of the state of Public spirit in the neighbourhood. If the local governing bodies neglect the care of the roads the inhabitants very soon feel it. If they even neglect the putting up of sign-posts and milestones strangers may be seriously inconvenienced. Drains, water supply, the prevention of the pollution of

rivers, the control of slaughter-houses and public cemeteries, the providing of means for extinguishing fire, affect directly the health and safety of all. Most important is the maintenance of an efficient police to check crime, and to detect the criminal when it is committed.

These things may not sound very grand or imposing, but they are matters upon which our health, comfort, and safety depend in no common degree. The modern citizen, in town or country, goes to his business along well-made streets or roads, in towns, at night time, with the advantage of light whereby to see his way. He lives in a house which must conform to certain sanitary conditions, he enjoys a supply of good water, the drainage of his town is managed on scientific principles to ensure his house and water supply from pollution. All this at least can be managed and should be done by efficient local government. A man's life and property, and what is of more general utility, for life and property are not attacked every day, the general peace and quiet of his neighbourhood are protected by a well-handled police force, whose influence is rather felt than seen. If he fall ill himself of an infectious disorder he can be placed under skilled care in a building where his illness will not imperil his family, and the infectious diseases of his neighbours are in like manner removed from his doors. If he is afflicted with a lunatic or idiotic relative, an Asylum is open where all that care and knowledge can do will alleviate the lot of the sufferer. Such at least may be his condition. Local bodies may fail in their duties, or may not yet have got into sufficient working order to provide all these desirable conditions in villages as well as towns. Then it is the duty of citizens, for their own sakes and their families' sakes, as well as on public grounds, to bring such pressure to bear in elections as to ensure such

things being properly attended to, or to come forward and offer to attend to them in person, becoming candidates for office.

As a last resource pressure can be applied through the law. A complaint made to the Local Government Board of neglect of duty by local bodies, will be attended to if properly substantiated. Or a private person may set the law in motion and compel local bodies to do their duty. A prudent citizen, however, will consult a good solicitor before trying anything of the sort, and a prudent solicitor will probably advise him not to do it. Publicity given to a case in the newspapers is usually enough to cause a real neglect of duty to be put right. But without imputing absolute neglect of duty, it is certain that many of the duties of local governing bodies are ill or well done according to the amount of interest felt locally in public affairs, and the unwise or wise choice of County, Town, District, or Parish Councillors. It is very strongly the duty as well as the interest of the citizen to see to the efficiency of his local government. It is a task from which the quiet and peaceable, and these are generally the wise, are apt to shrink, because it may bring them into unpleasant relations with their own neighbours. The busy-bodies, the gossips, the lovers of notoriety, who are not always the wisest, are sure to want to have their say in such matters, and they should not be left to have things all their own way. One of the dangers to both national and local business arises from a sort of peaceable long suffering, sometimes laziness, on the part of those who ought to bring their judgment, moderation, and honesty, to bear on such matters, but who prefer to let them alone till a great crisis or scandal arises. One of the penalties of popular government is the need which it imposes upon

all people to exert themselves to get things done well. Both England and America sometimes suffer from a lazy spirit, though not so much as some other countries where, with all their talk of liberty, people generally prefer to be told what to do by men in office.

The most likely department to suffer from neglect is the enforcement by local bodies of the Sanitary Acts. It is only in recent years that the possibilities of Government coping with the causes of disease has been realised. Even now knowledge on such subjects is not widely spread enough for every one to be really convinced that the Sanitary Acts are beneficial. Their enforcement leads to the invasion of home by outsiders, which is reasonably disliked. But if the people who dislike it would comply with the law willingly they would be spared much annoyance.

Nuisances for instance should not be allowed. No one may make a pigsty in part of a dwelling house, or keep pigs or create similar nuisances in the neighbourhood of other dwelling houses. The Local Sanitary Authority, whatever it may be, has power to compel the notification of infectious diseases, with a view to removing sufferers to hospitals, or taking other steps to isolate them, and to purify infected dwellings. They can enforce the law which forbids persons with infectious diseases to travel by public conveyances. They can condemn unsanitary dwelling houses, prevent overcrowding of people in houses too small to hold them with regard to health and decency. They can close unsanitary sources of water supply, and correct improper drainage. They can stop the pollution of streams of water. They can provide for public cleanliness by erecting washhouses and baths. They can destroy unhealthy food, diseased meat, rotten fruit or fish. They

can inspect sources of milk supply to the public, and see that they are clean. In all these matters the co-operation of the individual citizen is most helpful. There is no doubt that legislation, prompted by scientific knowledge of the laws of health, has gone on somewhat faster than unenlightened public opinion has been prepared to follow, and that consequently a kind of passive resistance to this class of legislation often still exists. But when we reflect that the scientific men, who have gained the ear of Parliament and caused it to legislate in this fashion, and to commit this power of administration to local bodies, are men who have made an exhaustive study of these subjects, and come to absolutely certain scientific conclusions upon them, by dint of knowledge which we most of us do not possess, we must see that it is wise to listen to them. Besides it is right to obey the law. In spite of the spread of education we are most of us in such matters like half-blind people, who cannot distinguish objects clearly beyond the ends of our noses, and the scientific men are like men of clear sight who can see half-a-mile off, and have besides telescopes and microscopes which we cannot use at all. When they tell us that certain things are, it is the part of wise men to believe them, and to act on the belief. Experience is all in favour of the enforcement of sanitary rules. The death-rate of places where they are adopted has fallen, and the enlightened people who try to obey them, and whose neighbours obey them, for here our action very much affects our neighbours, are just the people whose homes are the healthiest, whose children grow up the strongest, and whose lives are lengthened.

But besides the various things which local bodies are obliged to do, there are many Permissive Acts which they may adopt if they please. Such are some of the sanitary

measures mentioned above, such as providing baths and washhouses. They may also acquire land for the public enjoyment, a very necessary help to the health of large towns, providing lungs as it were for the free circulation of fresh air among crowded streets.

Public recreation grounds should be under the control of the people who enjoy them, but as a matter of fact the public bodies, who provide them at the public expense, have sometimes hard work to prevent their owners from destroying the real use of such places. Here the co-operation of individuals should come in. They can and should discourage the rough horse-play, the foul language, the actual destruction of trees, seats, flowers, and ornaments which sometimes goes on. It is a good sign of advancing civilization that such misuse of public places is getting rarer, but it may be made rarer still by teaching our children not to be mischievous and to exercise consideration towards others at home and abroad. This same consideration may be extended towards the use of other places, not provided by public money, but accessible to the public as places of enjoyment. The man is not properly alive to his duties towards others, or to his country, who mars the most beautiful spots in that country by noisy perhaps half-drunken rioting, who cuts his foolish name on ancient monuments, or strews broken bottles about a sea-beach, or sets fire with his pipe-lights carelessly to the heather on a hill side or to the furze on a common. The minor duties of a citizen include care for the natural beauties which all may enjoy.

Another Permissive Act which can be usefully adopted by local bodies is that for the formation of libraries. The great National Libraries and Museums, the British Museum and the British Museum Library, the South Kensington

Museum, the Natural History Museum, and the National Gallery, are fitly supported out of national funds. They are indispensable to the highest cultivation of intellectual and artistic excellence in the nation, and are on a scale which only national funds could support. The Free Library, as it is called (of course it is not free in one sense, it is paid for out of the rates), is a comparatively new device, to meet and stimulate the growing education of the nation in its different towns and districts. It can only be set up after a special vote of the ratepayers, by a majority of those voting, and can be supported by a rate of not more than twopence in the pound. It is an excellent thing to have, and like other excellent things brings responsibility along with its advantages. A man who can command any leisure for it is bound to read. Many a man and boy, who has had apparently no leisure has managed to make it for reading, and those men and boys have been heard of again. Surely those who can freely enter a library near their own doors, are bound to make some acquaintance with the various branches of knowledge which may be useful to them in their trade, with the history of the country which they are called upon to help to govern, with above all the great thoughts of the greatest men of the past and present. A man has a duty with regard to these things. Free Libraries are very much used for the reading of fiction. Good fiction is a very good thing, it enlarges the sympathies and the understanding, it strengthens the best moral faculties if it be really good fiction, above all it rests the harassed brain and body, and amuses us, and it is a very good thing indeed to be rationally amused—people are always the better for learning to amuse themselves well. But it is not the sole end of libraries to provide even good recreation. We should use our libraries to help us to

become better men, better equipped with for instance the sanitary knowledge we spoke of above, and with historical knowledge for guidance in politics, or economic knowledge for understanding the laws of trade and the true condition of national wealth. Many men may not be able to do much in this way, but all men can do something.

Another Permissive Act which may be adopted by local bodies is that for providing land for Allotments. Here the State, acting through local bodies, steps in to artificially encourage, that is to protect a certain form of industry, gardening or small farming. For Protection, which some people suppose was banished from England with the repeal of the Corn Laws, is still with us in several forms. No doubt if working Allotments pays, the natural process of supply and demand will eventually establish Allotments without the aid of government, as they have been established in many places. If it does not pay, no government aid will in the long run support the system. But the contention is that the demand takes time to produce the natural supply, and that the initial steps could be well taken by government so as to improve more quickly the condition of a desirable class of citizens. But, again, the benefit calls for renewed exertion. The man who obtains an Allotment at some cost, however small, to the community, is bound to try and become a better man and citizen thereby. If he does not improve in industry and self-respect, he may be sure that he is helping to condemn the system itself in the long run, though it may last out his day. No one must suppose that if this system were indefinitely extended it would be a cure for all distress. The tailor's workman out of a town, set down upon a small farm in the country, would be as much at a loss as the agricultural labourer would be if furnished with cloth, a pair of shears, and a sewing machine, and

told to make a coat. It is the part therefore of the duty of a wise local government to consider what persons are really likely to benefit themselves and the community by receiving this or other help from the community.

To sum up this matter of what local government is made or permitted to do by the laws of the national government, let us consider what we should be doing without its aid. It is impossible to think of what England would be like without the national government. A journey through Central Africa, or in a South American Republic, during one of their periodical changes of government, may give us some idea of the confusion; but such a country would not be England at all as we know it or have heard of it. But in local affairs we know something, if we have lived forty years. Our grandfathers knew a good deal, their grandfathers much more, of what this country was like without those advantages which we have got or are trying to get.

Men stumbled along half-paved roads, between yawning ditches, among stones and pitfalls of mud. In some districts wheeled traffic was impossible in the winter on any but main roads. At night-time in the greatest cities a few oil lamps flickered dimly at long intervals, and the footpad or bully robbed or struck the defenceless in defiance of the rare and inefficient watch. The roads near London, even in the suburbs themselves, were dangerous from armed and mounted highwaymen. The citizen who reached his home lay down with a reeking cess-pool in his basement story, and some noxious trade or slaughter-house pouring in its effluvium at his window. This he kept shut, and suffered from the equally noisome carbonic acid and sewer gas inside. All this too often happens still, but it happens less often, and it can be lessened by careful local administration. If ill of an

infectious disorder he would see it run through the house, and probably through the street. He drew water from a contaminated well, as too many of his descendants do, or from a river into which flowed such of the filth of the town as went anywhere. Libraries, Baths, Wash-houses, Free Schools, he never dreamed of. If his child were afflicted in mind it remained a drag and a grief in the household, or was immured in a kind of prison where barbarities unspeakable were the only recognised form of treatment. In whatever class of society he lived his life was lower and more brutal than the life of the same class now. His life was shorter as a rule. Yet he was often a man to admire. Such as he fought in the Civil Wars, restored English liberties, founded the Colonies, beat the French, conquered India, built up our national trade.

Truly the citizen of to-day with his many advantages in life, his possibilities of intellectual improvement, has a heavy responsibility upon him when he considers what his fathers bore and what his fathers were. He with so much to help him has failed if he does not become a wiser, better educated, more tolerant man than they, and at the same time as much of a *man*, as brave, as honest, as true as they were.

CHAPTER XV.

EDUCATION.

ONE of the great benefits which we enjoy is the wide diffusion of the means for learning and education. It is the obvious duty of a citizen to use the advantages of which we have spoken to improve himself or herself. Personally, it is a duty which we owe to ourselves and our families; politically, it is a duty which we owe to the community, which is improved by the improvement of all its members. The means of learning are now placed within the reach of all. The history of learning in England is a chequered one. Far back in the Middle Ages learning, if not far advanced, was very highly valued. In the thirteenth century the Universities of Europe and of England, Oxford in particular, had a far larger number of students, in proportion to the population, than they have now. When the Middle Ages were closing, just as the Reformation was beginning, the cultivation of learning increased still more, and helped to bring in the Reformation, but nearly destroyed itself in the ruins of the change. In the interval between the first half of Henry VIII.'s reign and the latter half of Elizabeth's, not only were there few learned and great writers, except upon theological controversy, but it has been suspected that the knowledge of reading and writing went backwards among the community at large. That

was because the schools supported by the Monasteries and the Religious Guilds, which were then suppressed, came to an end. They were presently replaced by foundations like Edward VI.'s of Christ's Hospital, and by Grammar Schools in nearly all towns. But the machinery for teaching in many country places was never replaced where it had once existed. The next century was taken up with civil and religious dissensions, the last century thought a great deal of material prosperity and little of intellectual progress, and the increasing population more and more outgrew private effort and the work of Religious Societies. These latter did much, certainly, by National Schools, so named not because they belonged to the nation, but because they were founded by a voluntary society called the National Society for the Promotion of Education, and by British Schools, founded by another religious association. But it became abundantly clear that the nation could not be taught effectively without the interference of the State.

It was in 1839 that the first modest grant of £30,000 was made by Parliament towards encouraging elementary education. In 1870 Mr. Forster's Act established a universal and compulsory system. Since then it has become also a free system, free that is to those taught, but of course paid for by the rates and taxes. No doubt an ideal system would be one in which compulsion was unnecessary, where all parents would be eager to seize the advantages of education for their children, and proud to pay for them. But human nature being defective, even in England, compulsion is necessary, and free schooling is almost the necessary complement of compulsion. England is now divided into school districts. School Boards are elected in many of the districts, whose business it is to

erect and maintain schools. School Boards are elected by the ratepayers for a three years' term of office. The voting is by ballot, but unlike the voting in parliamentary or municipal elections, it is cumulative; that is, each voter has the same number of votes as there are places to be filled, and he may distribute his votes among several candidates, or give all to one, as he pleases. The School Board appoints and dismisses teachers in its schools.

In other places, where efficient schools existed under managers of one kind or another, it was thought a waste of energy to abolish a good working system, and these Voluntary Schools continue, subject of course to Government Inspection like School Board schools, and receiving aid from the national funds in proportion to their efficiency. The managers of Voluntary Schools appoint and dismiss their own teachers. Voluntary Schools are so called because they are largely or even chiefly supported by voluntary contributions, which of course relieve the rates by rendering School Board rates unnecessary.

But even where no School Boards exist, a School Attendance Committee, chosen from the local Guardians, exists, to see that children do attend school, and they appoint a School Attendance Officer for this end. The duty of parents, however, is not taken out of their hands by the system. It is not possible, nor desirable, especially in country districts, that every child should attend school every day. But regularity of attendance is vital to real progress, and irregularity hinders the teaching of the whole school, and not only that of the truant scholar. Parents can do much to enforce regularity of attendance, and much more to increase an interest in school work on the part of the children, encouraging them to get on, or even rewarding them for good reports from school. Parents

also should uphold the reasonable authority of the school-master. Of course violent and unwise punishments are sometimes inflicted, and against them a protest is inevitable; but with some truth a great statesman has said that the valuable privilege of a sound flogging as a boy is, by the action of the people themselves, now generally confined to the sons of noblemen and rich men at the big public schools. A great deal of good it does them, and a great deal of good is done by the system of strict discipline of which it is a part, even when not applied, but only held as a power in the background.

We are too apt to think of education as merely learning. Learning is an important part of education, and a means for education, for drawing out our full powers, and giving us the capacity to use them. But true education is a training of the whole intellectual, moral, and physical man or woman, which begins at home and at school, and goes on through life. A wise direction of education at first is of the greatest importance, and the discipline, the order and regularity of school life, are the most important factors in early education. If children were under too strict a discipline once, it is no reason why they should be too often under no discipline now. To learn to obey is the necessary preliminary to learning to rule. Even the strict discipline of games at our great public schools is of great service, and it should be the aim of teachers, parents, and of all who take an interest in boys and young men to encourage sports like cricket, rowing, and football, in which discipline, self-control, and subordination of the individual to the interests of the whole company are essential.

But education does not end with school. The regular school-time should, if possible, be prolonged after it has

ceased to be compulsory. The child who leaves school as soon as the law allows is in danger of forgetting in a very few years all that he or she has learnt. The teaching and discipline of the highest standards in schools is more valuable than that of the lower, and to keep a child at school as long as possible is not waste of time and money, but is the only way of really turning his earlier teaching to the best account. The great scientific man, Professor Tyndall, who died the other day, was the son of a poor man who kept him at school of one sort or another till he was nineteen. That is not often possible, nor desirable even in all cases; but no man or woman should suppose that their education is complete when they leave school. When Professor Tyndall was twenty-eight he put himself to school again at a foreign university. That again is of course impossible for all; but there are now Continuation Schools supported by Government, held in the evening, for the benefit of those who are at work in the day. There are Technical Schools, supported out of public money by the County Councils, for manual or scientific training in arts and sciences which will be helpful to men and women in their trades. The public Department of Science and Art, the centre of which is at South Kensington, conducts classes and examinations in different parts of the country. University Extension Lectures bring the results of the highest education to the doors of people in many towns. Public Libraries exist, and books of the highest class are now produced at a price which puts them within the reach of any man who will deny himself a few glasses of beer, or of any young woman who will forego the putting of a few ribbons outside her head for the sake of putting something better inside. It is the duty of all to use these means of helping themselves, when the State or private persons meet

them half way with so much encouragement. Some, of course, will say that they do not see the use of it, that it does not pay. As a fact it does pay in the lowest sense. It matters much less what you learn than how you learn. Give a man the power of reading and writing, and all knowledge is open to him. But he or she who carefully masters one book even, certainly one kind of even elementary knowledge, is strengthened for acquiring more, has acquired the power of application, the mental training, which will serve for all kinds of improvement. We must take the opinion of those who have this gain, not of those who have not. The fox without a tail has always excellent reasons for believing that a brush is an unnecessary appendage. Scotchmen are our prize example of the fruits of education. In Scotland a good system of Elementary Schools, and means for continued education, have existed much longer than they have existed in England, and have been made good use of. If we look for a man who gets on in business, is a good workman, a good business man, the successful pioneer in the colonies, the influential man at home, we shall not easily beat the Scot, or those whose fathers were brought up in Scotland.

The highest branches of knowledge are not to be reached by all, and a great community with varied employments cannot usefully produce nothing but great scholars and scientific men. The Universities, and the Colleges in them, were founded and endowed by private persons, almost entirely, to encourage the higher kind of education. No one supposes that all our school-boys and school-girls could usefully go on to the Universities, or that it could be done without lowering the standard of education properly aimed at by the Universities. But by aid of schools of different grades promising scholars can be passed on to the highest

rungs of the ladder of learning, and the Universities themselves now send their men into the country to disseminate some of the results of their highest training.

But as a consequence partly of the novelty of good general education in England the objects of education are often lost sight of. Too many of those who have acquired the beginnings of a literary education at school are led to believe that their future course in life should be determined by it, and that they can usefully forsake the trade or occupation in which their parents made a living and seek only clerk's work at the least, or if possible some of the careers in which book-learning is essential, the entrance to which is usually controlled by the results of competitive examinations. As a fact education is a training of our faculties, and of that training the exercise of the mind through books is only a part. That training of the mind should be recognised as making a man a better man, more sympathetic, more tolerant, more wise, with a higher conception of the duties and possibilities of life, but not as necessarily turning him into a clerk, or a schoolmaster, or a professional man. To turn to Scotland again, we see there how the long continued existence of the means of education has caused a sounder conception of the uses of education to prevail. From the Scotch village schools have proceeded some men who have filled with distinction pulpits in the Scotch Kirk, who have governed India, who have been leading doctors and scientific men. But there have also proceeded hosts of men who have worked on their farms and at their trades, none the worse, but all the better, for having their minds stored with the lessons of the past, and their leisure occupied by intelligent co-operation in the thought of the present time. We shall learn in time that we do not want increased crowds of partially trained men and women thronging into

professions already overstocked by the fully trained, but that we do want, and can get, a higher level of general intelligence among men and women employed in all the functions of life in a great and varied community. Habits of punctuality, regularity, subordination of our own wishes, attention, application, thought, are the most valuable lessons learned at school, or in classes attended after school-days, for they are universally applicable in all stations and employments, and universally useful for developing our best capacities in whatever we may do.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE POOR LAW, THE STATE AND POVERTY.

DO what we will, however, there will be failures in life's race, for which the community must provide. Health will fail with some, old age and misfortune together will overwhelm others, a proportion of fatherless children will also always exist, and some as badly off as motherless children too, for their mothers are not tied to their fathers by any legal tie, and cannot find means to support their offspring. Then there will always be some who start with the determination not to do any honest work if they can possibly avoid it, and who in course of time become quite incapable of doing any. There is the more hopeless class still, whose fathers and mothers for some generations back have been people of this kind, and have produced at last a generation as incapable of steady work on their own account as the lowest savages. The unfortunate, the incapable, and the hopelessly idle fall upon the community for support. Of course we could let them die, or even kill them, as savages do, and as some ancient civilized states did, or we could brand, whip, and imprison them as our ancestors did in fits of savage economy. The modern state acts differently, and tries to support them in a fashion ; but the existence of the criminally idle side by side with the unfortunate, reduced as they are to the same state by such different roads, makes the task a very hard one

to do well. Moreover a considerable number of paupers combine the two characters—they have not been altogether idle and vicious, but they have been less hard-working and careful than they should have been, and so have been overwhelmed by misfortunes. Under Elizabeth, in 1601, the first Poor Law System was completed, by which parishes were made responsible for their own impotent poor, parish overseers were appointed, and a poor rate could be levied for the relief of the poor. Churchwardens were also *ex officio* Overseers of the Poor, a function taken from them by the Local Government Act, 1894. The administration of the law was fairly good to begin with, but was corrupted by subsequent alterations. The law of Settlement, confining people to their native parishes, became very severe, for parishes were naturally anxious to avoid charging their own rates with the support of more people than they could avoid supporting. A fatal addition was made to the functions of the Poor Rate by charging it with the support of the honest industrious poor who were not actually paupers. The distress during the great French war of a hundred years ago, and the desire to keep the poor in good humour, led to an extension of the system of relief which nearly ruined the poor, not at the hands of their enemies, but at the hands of their well-meaning but mistaken friends. By 1817 the Poor Rates of the country had reached the sum of nearly eight millions, an amount which was scarcely equalled, under reformed conditions, in 1871, though the population of the country had rather more than doubled in the interval. Out-door relief was freely given, till in many parishes, especially in the south of England, the majority of the labourers were upon the rates, and wages ruled low because the men who received so much aid from the rates could afford to work

for a very small further payment, so that the really independent labourer was undersold by pauper labour, and had no choice but to sink to the same level. Payments in out-door relief were made to women in proportion to their number of children, so that one illegitimate birth having taken a woman beyond the check of shame, a woman probably went on producing a large family of the same kind, being secure that the parish would support them, with no unpleasant restrictions on her own liberty. A generation has now grown up to whom the abuses of the Old Poor Law are unknown. But with a wider basis for the election of Guardians being now established, it is well to remind people out of what a slough of despond the New Poor Law, imperfect though it might be, helped to raise the country. Men not prone to panic or exaggeration believed that the old system of indiscriminate out-door relief was rapidly ruining the whole agricultural community and the self-respect of the whole country. Mr. Fowle's book on the Poor Law, in the English Citizen series, should be in the hands of all new Guardians, who wish to know the facts about the results of the old style of administration. After various attempts to reform these abuses, the New Poor Law, of 1834, grouped the parishes, several together, into Poor Law Unions, each with a Union Workhouse for the reception of paupers, and out-door relief away from the Workhouse was discouraged. In every parish Overseers of the Poor are still appointed, formerly by the Justices, now by the Parish Councils. Their business includes preparing lists of qualified jurymen and voters, but their primary duty is to find out and report upon cases of destitution, and to relieve pressing cases of want. Their duties however are largely taken over now by paid Relieving Officers, appointed now by Parish Councils, formerly by the Vestries.

Boards of Guardians, so many for each parish in the Union, were elected by the ratepayers under the Act of 1834. Now they are elected by the local and parliamentary electors as Guardians and District Councillors, combining the functions of poor law and sanitary administration. The Justices used also to be *ex-officio* Guardians, but have now lost that position. Every Board of Guardians has a clerk, directly responsible, not to the Board, but to the Local Government Board. Their primary duty as Guardians was and is to determine questions of relief, and to superintend the Workhouse and the schools connected with it, and to raise money by rates for the purpose of the relief of the poor. The work of a good Guardian can never be popular. Much may be done to mitigate the necessary hardships of extreme poverty for the aged and the unfortunate, but some test must exist to prevent the merely idle from coming too easily upon the charity of the State.

This class, and those who have a share in the weaknesses of this class, will always be discontented at the action of conscientious Guardians who refuse to spend the savings of industrious people to support the less industrious in comfort. The Union Workhouse must exist, and though it should be more of a home to some, it must be more or less of a prison to others, unless mere thriftlessness is to be encouraged. Either as Overseer or Guardian, a man or woman, for women are eligible, can do most useful work for the community, work too of an arduous and not very pleasant character in many cases. But Englishmen and English women are not apt to shrink from harder duties than these.

“Not once nor twice, in our rough island story,
The path of duty was the way to glory.”

This is true of many besides the great admiral and the great general and statesman, Nelson and Wellington, the mingling of whose dust in St. Paul's originated the lines. The glory is not the object, but the glory is there, even if unrecognized by the world, when simple duties are done unostentatiously and well. But, like other duties, this requires knowledge and patience for its well-doing. Education again here comes in, and people must qualify themselves for such work by a study of simple economic laws, and by attention to the history of the past administration of the Poor Law.

A hopeful branch of the work is that among the young. Voluntary charitable agencies, such as Refuges, catch the unfortunate children and educate them, and State-supported Industrial Schools try to reclaim the young of the criminal and vagabond classes. Medical relief can be given by Guardians to those who are not in receipt of regular relief, out-door or in door. It does not disqualify from exercising the franchise, as does regular relief if received within the year in which a vote has to be given.

But prevention is better than cure, and the spread of the habit of thrift, and of the means of thrift, are most valuable as a preventive against misfortunes becoming overwhelming. It is perhaps partly because there has been a very imperfectly developed Poor Law System in France that the French are as a rule so much more economical and saving than English people.

A man is bound to make provision, if he can, for the future, not only on his own account and on account of his family, but for the sake of the community which will otherwise have to support him. Of course the community may be said to support him in either case, but not to the same extent in both cases. In the one case he uses the results

of his labour to make himself a creditable, respectable citizen in his old age, or in time of trouble, when, if he does not do a stroke of actual work for wages, he may still be a most useful person, by the mere fact of leading an honourable and honoured existence. In the other case he has had the means for saving, and has wasted the result of his labour on unproductive expenditure, and he becomes an unhonoured charge on his neighbours, drawing still further support from the community. Various schemes of compulsory insurance, supplemented by the State, have been suggested. But when the State steps in to enforce any such scheme, the inference is that the object is a good object, but that the voluntary inclinations of the majority of those concerned are not sufficient to bring it about, and that therefore it is open to the objection, if it be introduced, that it must be enforced, for a time at least, upon unwilling and discontented contributors. If, however, the object of general insurance be good, good citizens should not wait for the command of the State, but should do their best to carry out the object so far as they themselves and those whom they can influence are concerned.

It is the duty of a citizen to be thrifty, and to bring up his children to be thrifty. The State has stepped in already to offer the means. Through the Post-office a child may begin to save pence, and the Post-office Savings Bank offers a perfectly safe deposit for savings, whence they can always be drawn in time of need. Through the Post-office a man can become a shareholder in the National Debt, with his money guaranteed by the credit of the State, he can purchase an annuity to begin at once, or at any specified age, he can insure his life, so that his wife and children may receive money at his death. All information on these subjects can be obtained through any Post-office. Probably

few greater benefits can be conferred upon the community than the promotion of further schemes by which honest and thrifty men shall be enabled to insure themselves against accident, disease, and old age, under the guarantee of the public credit. But to be financially sound, and morally improving, such schemes must be founded upon the forethought and self-denial of those who benefit by them. Men must be helped to help themselves. Not the least claim of our late blind statesman, Henry Fawcett, to fame, was what he did, through the Post-office, in this direction. Another greater deed of fame was his, through the quiet heroism with which he faced great duties, in spite of that crowning calamity, the loss of sight, which drives most men to despair. By this triumph over misfortune he gave an example to all to help themselves.

There are many perfectly sound Benefit Societies in the country—the Odd Fellows and the Foresters are the greatest, but there are many others—where insurance may be effected for life, or against accidents, and provision made for old age. There are indeed many Insurance Associations, some general, some confined to certain trades. Only it is unfortunately necessary to warn men to beware of unsound societies, and of swindling benefit clubs. A temptingly high rate of interest, and the promise of extravagant profits, are always dangerous. We must consider that if men have found a very profitable way of doing business, which promises a fortune on easy terms, they are not very likely to ask us to share in it. Really sound and very profitable undertakings, are very rare. Where they exist their promoters and discoverers are naturally not over anxious to share the profits. Do not let us be induced to put our savings into some undertaking of which we understand little, because we see what we

think good names at the top of the prospectus. We may remember the Liberator Society. Many people will not forget it. A good citizen is surely bound too to consider the utility to the community of the enterprises which he supports by his savings. Surely a man is responsible for the use which he makes of his money, whether he keeps it by him or invests it upon interest. There is probably more to be said from this point of view, apart from prudence, for a railway in England than for a loan to a South American Republic, for gasworks or waterworks than for a Music Hall Company, Limited. We must be thrifty, therefore, for personal and national reasons. France paid herself out of the first and worst pressure of the German Conquest by the savings of her poor people. English citizens might take a lesson from France here.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE STATE, LABOUR AND CAPITAL.

THOUGH the State has recognized the obligation of stepping in to prevent the actual starvation of any who may not be able to help themselves, and has provided means through which those who chose can help themselves to better their condition and provide against misfortune, it recognizes no obligation of general support of the community by State machinery. The community does of course support itself, but it does this mainly through private agreements, depending for their terms upon the wishes, powers, and capacities of individuals. The wealth of the nation consists of the produce of land, corn and meat, wool, the produce of mines, the capital representing the wealth accumulated in the past, bodily strength by which men labour, skill in a trade, knowledge of a profession, bodily and mental capacities in short of all kinds. Of this national wealth some have less, some more, under their control. Some have one kind, some another. The whole nation is supported upon it, and it is distributed according to the wishes and needs of those who control it. We can of course individually help to increase it, both by productive labour, bodily and mental, by distributive labour, making it more readily accessible, and by improving ourselves. We can as citizens, acting through the State whose laws we make, help to increase it by wise regulations

for order and personal liberty, which will enable us to devote our energies freely to our work; and by a wise system of finance, currency, and banking, which will render accumulated wealth secure and readily accessible for the production of more.

The position of wealthy men is often misunderstood. However wealthy a man may be, he actually consumes very little comparatively of his wealth in his own person. A man with a very large income from business, or from landed property, is the administrator of a great deal of wealth, but he eats, drinks, and puts on very little more in value than many other people. He often no doubt gets rid of a good deal more of his wealth in unproductive expenditure than he should do; but many rich men, fortunately, work hard in administering their wealth for the common good; and in promoting the higher sides of civilized life in science, learning, religion, and art, they do much which would hardly be done without them. In productive expenditure their administration is often wise. Large landed estates, for instance, shew better agricultural returns, more prosperous tenants, and better cottages, as a rule, than the estates of poorer men.

Were the State to take possession of all wealth, it might no doubt be distributed much more equally by dint of constant State-management. The result would of course be a kind of slavery, for no man could call his labour even his own, much less his savings, indeed he would be allowed none. To preserve the equal distribution the State would have to prescribe the rate of wages and the kind of labour, and the amount of labour which a man was to do, for all, if left to themselves, would want the highest scale of remuneration and the least onerous labour. So the highest kinds of labour, political leadership,

literature, scientific research, the arts, would be abolished altogether, because you cannot choose men to do such work by state selection nor even by examination, they must make themselves. If Mr. Gladstone had been set down by the State in his youth to make shoes, he would not have been able to become either scholar, or orator, or Master of Finance. The idle in such a State would have to be driven to work by punishment. But because such a state of affairs is a dream which well-meaning dreamers have dreamed ever since the days of the Greek philosophers, it does not follow that there is no function of the State with regard to labour, nor any duty of the citizen in capacity of worker towards the State.

The State, to begin with, steps in to regulate noxious and dangerous kinds of work. Soap-boiling for instance may not be carried on so as to be a nuisance to neighbours. No offensive works of any kind are permitted to be erected where they are shewn to be detrimental to the health of the neighbourhood. Trades unhealthy for the workers are fenced with certain safeguards by State direction, steel grinders and cotton spinners must be provided with means to lessen the chance of their inhaling minute fragments of steel and cotton which destroy their lungs. Dangerous trades to both the workers and community are regulated by government inspection, such as the making of explosives and the storage of explosives. A toy shop keeper may not fill his premises with unlimited fireworks for instance in anticipation of the fifth of November, lest he should be accidentally more successful than Guy Fawkes, and blow up himself and his neighbours. There are Inspectors of Boilers and Inspectors of Shipping. Unseaworthy ships or overladen ships are prevented, as far as possible, from putting to sea. Ships have to be marked with a load line,

and may not be laden so heavily as to bring that below the water, and may not be hampered with so much deck cargo as to get in the way of the sailors and make the ship top-heavy. Railway and canal works are inspected, and must satisfy the Board of Trade that they are safe and commodious. Places of amusement are inspected, to see that they are worked with due attention to ventilation and safety, mines are inspected, and pitmen are compelled to use safety lamps to avoid explosions. All factories are inspected, to ensure proper ventilation, exits, sanitary arrangements, and so on. Workshops of any kind, where men or women are employed for wages, must be of certain capacity, and the employment of women and children in them is limited in time. The Board of Trade has the control of most of this inspection, though that of places of amusement is done by the local authority, Town or County Council. It is felt in all these cases that the anxiety of employers to make money, and the possible ignorance, and recklessness too, of workers under them, may lead to a prevalence of unhealthy conditions and to a rate of death by disease, or to accidents on a large scale, which justify a considerable interference with individual liberty on the part of the State.

Men have really the enforcement of these laws in their own hands. If the inspector is hoodwinked, a hint to the police is not only allowable but a duty. But no amount of inspection and control by the State frees any man from the moral duty of doing his best for the health and safety of his workers and of his neighbours.

Of a similar kind is the interference of the State with the sale of alcoholic liquors, because the trade is one which, if unrestrained and badly managed, may lead to public disorder and the injury of the community. Public-houses, therefore, can only be allowed by license, granted

by the Local Authority and the Justices acting together, and are subject to special police supervision, and must be closed at certain times, and also must be open at certain times for the public convenience.

The persons of women and children are also protected by the State against certain kinds of employment. The number of hours that they can be employed in factories and workshops is limited; no women nor children under ten may be employed underground in mines at all. Practically the limitation of female labour in some factories implies the limitation of that of men, for the women discharge duties which are indispensable to the work of the men.

Now in all this there is undoubtedly a great deal of interference with personal liberty. Some people would be quite willing to work longer hours, and even under more risky conditions, for the sake of the higher wages which they would get for doing so. There is some interference with the production of national wealth, for every interference with the absolute freedom of trade to find its own channels, and to work in the most profitable way, does check the production of wealth. But it is justifiable for the sake of the community, which prefers that it should be a little less wealthy, but a little better protected against disease and accident. The duty of Englishmen is obviously to co-operate with these laws as they exist, the laws which we have made. Some people would like to relax them, others to extend them, but here they are now to be kept. The annoyances of inspection, which sometimes exist, the cost and trouble of inspection, can be materially lessened by the cheerful co-operation of employers and employed in carrying out safe and healthy regulations of work. Most of these regulations

enforced by law deal with matters which enlightened and unselfish men would regulate in the same way for themselves.

So with the adulteration of food and drink. The police and Local Authorities can make rather annoying and troublesome inquisitions into the quality of goods sold, and into weights and measures; but if all grocers, bakers, brewers, publicans, and so on were quite honest and careful, and if all customers were careful about the quality and measure of what they bought, this inspection would become unnecessary. It is not often realised how much the hearty co-operation of individuals is needed to make general honesty the more universal rule, and to make the pressure of rules and regulations not only more tolerable, but unnecessary, and to ease the whole work of the community. All curtailments of liberty by law result from the imperfection of our characters, which must be restrained. The more immoral and ignorant a people are, the more they must be guarded against themselves and each other. Complete personal liberty, which we all prize as an Englishman's birthright, is only founded upon morality, unselfishness, and enlightenment. The man who pays his debts, who sweareth unto his neighbour and disappointeth him not, even to his own hindrance, who takes active care to consider his neighbours in every way, need never know that there is a restraining law, so far as he himself is concerned. This is why home training, school training, education, are so vitally necessary to the health and continuance of political life. A ruling class of immoral people become tyrants, a whole nation of immoral people become savages or slaves. The history of Rome supplies examples of both instances; the history of France in the Revolution from 1792 to 1815 came very nigh supplying an example nearer home.

The modern world, England among other countries, has been lately waking up to a knowledge of abuses, and has been restricting individual liberty by law in some particulars. Our social and our political legislation seem to have gone in different directions. In the latter people have been allowed to manage their own affairs more and more, not on the supposition that they must always manage them well, but because it is rightly thought better for a man to mismanage his own affairs than to have them done well for him by a master. For he will become more and more self-reliant, more of a man, by so doing, and will learn to manage well, whereas if they are always done for him he will not learn. But in social legislation the tendency is the other way, to take the management of a man's own affairs more and more out of his hands, to control the employment of his labour and his capital or savings, and to settle by a law, to which he may consent or may not, what he is to do. We know that it is desired to limit the liberty of work of full-grown men, as that of women and children is limited. It is not the part of a teacher to lay down directions as to how men should vote upon questions which may come before Parliament shortly for decision, but there are certain broad considerations which may be usefully stated. The tendency of interference with a man's liberty of action by the State is to reduce his alacrity in helping himself. One effort succeeds in passing a law, but it is the continued habit of self-reliance which makes a man. It is doubtful whether the habits of energy and self-dependence, which underlie a free political constitution, can be perpetuated side by side with a habit of perpetual dependence upon the State at large in the ordinary affairs of life, and with the hampering of freedom of action by the law. In the

Middle Ages, governments, which were not popular governments it is true, but which apparently reflected popular wishes in this, were perpetually legislating as to how trades were to be carried on, how many hours were to be worked, what wages were to be paid, what prices were to be given, what interest on money was to be, and so on. The gradual emergence of political liberty, a great advance in national wealth and beneficial discoveries of all kinds, went on when these laws were becoming more and more obsolete and neglected. And this is one of the things which our hard-worked citizen has to think about. As we find again and again it is no easy task to be a good citizen. On the one hand are benefits which he thinks legislation could secure to himself or to others, on the other are the drawbacks of loss of liberty and the loss of Free Trade with their possible consequences. The duty of education is again forced upon us thinking of these things.

There is a supposed duty of the State towards labour which is often assumed, but which not only does not but cannot exist. That is the duty of providing work. Of course the community if it sees fit can give in charity on a large scale. But relief works are only a name for charity. Let us take the case home to ourselves. We have a bit of ground which it does not pay us to cultivate as a garden by our own labour, nor by the hire of a skilled gardener. A tramp comes to our doors, a most meritorious and deserving but unfortunate man, who may or may not know anything of gardening. We put him on to work on our ground and pay him. But it does not pay us; if it did we should have done it ourselves, or hired a proper person to do it, and not have waited for a chance and probably incapable labourer. We might as well have given him the money at once, except that the labour was

a test to see if he really wanted relief to the extent of taking trouble to get it. It has been found too by experience that relief works tend to the congestion of the unemployed, drawing large numbers together into one place, where they are worse off and less likely to obtain employment than if they were scattered.

It does not follow that the State can do nothing for unemployed workmen. A sound financial policy, peaceful foreign relations, everything which tends to security and regularity in the business world are well within the functions of the State, and tend to keep men in employment, and lead to the expansion of business, so as to lead to more employment. The collection of information as to where real work is wanted, which is done by the Labour Department of the Board of Trade, the establishment of Registry Offices of workmen and employers, which might be done more generally, are means of helping people to help themselves.

Wise employment of capital can also often so spread and apportion work as to provide against the ill-effects of a sudden cessation of labour, following a period of full employment. Thus in a well-managed large estate, or large business, some work can be advantageously postponed till an otherwise slack time comes round. But some work to be done well must often be done at once, at a certain time. Then our improved means of transit from place to place, and this spread of information of which we have spoken, come in usefully to enable men to transfer their labour where it is needed. The limits ought to be wider within which it can be transferred. Our richer and middle classes send out their sons in increasing numbers to the thinly inhabited colonies, and the English workman will by degrees become

more alive to the truth that the best parts of the world are the heritage of those of our race who are bold enough to claim them. The Emigrants' Information Office, kept by the Colonial Office at 31 Broadway, Westminster, is one of our chief State aids for the profitable distribution of labour.

The State is, of course, a large employer of labour itself, and the State can do much by example in the way of securing healthy conditions, good wages, and regular employment for those whom it hires to do public work, and it should get correspondingly good work done in return. The community, however, is not to be expected to tax everyone all round to pay to a few workmen more than the regular market price which every employer who wants good labour has to pay. The State can do many things, but it can make no man happy by Act of Parliament, nor any body of men, any more than it can make them sober or industrious, or thrifty, or well educated men. It can remove disabilities which may hinder men from becoming such, and give them fair opportunities, but the effort to take advantage of opportunities must come from men themselves.

So long as the world exists, disease, misfortune, and poverty will exist in it. The pitiful and wise consideration of such cases, the helping hand stretched out in time to save those who are in danger of falling, the example of self-respect and self-control, to aid others in escaping from such peril, are duties imposed on all. The divine love which makes such duties a happiness, and which doubles their effective aid, must beat in the hearts of men and women, and can never be wholly supplanted by a law, however excellently made or far reaching in operation.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN SOCIAL LIFE.

THE duties of an English citizen extend far beyond the circle of duties imposed by the State. As is inevitable, and fitting, in a nation where the habit of self-government prevails, a great deal of the work of a citizen in the community is done by voluntary associations of different kinds, for common benefits. These grow naturally in England and America and in our Colonies, from the self-governing capacities of the people, and distinguish us from some foreign countries, where a measure of self-government has been introduced by law, but where the past traditions of the people lead them to expect Government to undertake nearly everything for them. Nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand people among the various nations who inhabit India, would think nothing of a government which did not take the whole task of government upon its shoulders. In France, even, the Government has lately been trying to start games in the schools, which English boys manage by clubs spontaneously started among themselves. But a very great deal of our ordinary life is regulated through voluntary associations of men who spontaneously, without pressure from the State, work together for common objects. The whole of our railway system is founded upon such voluntary association, so is our whole business system, worked through Companies.

Benefit Societies, Trade Societies, Chambers of Commerce, Societies for promoting hundreds of charitable objects, the Stock Exchange, the M. C. C., the Jockey Club, the Football Associations, which fill so much of the thoughts of many Englishmen—these have all come into existence through the action of persons interested, and provide a kind of constitutional government for their different departments of activity. The general principle of all is the same, to put the administration of affairs into capable hands, under more or less control by the public opinion of all who are concerned, above all of those who voluntarily pay for the carrying on of all these things. The self-governing powers of Englishmen are perhaps more strikingly illustrated by the vast volume of voluntary organization in the country, than by our Parliamentary Government itself. Assuredly the duties of citizens are not confined to what they are compelled to do, or invited to do by law, but embrace a reasonable activity in one or another of these phases of public life.

Some of the most important of these voluntary Associations are Trades Unions. In one shape or another Trades Unions are very old. In the Middle Ages the craftsmen employed in various pursuits united to control the methods of work and to limit the numbers employed, and in time became powerful associations, often actually ruling the Corporate Towns. It is noteworthy, however, that with the growth of power they became more exclusive and intolerant of others, and ultimately grew into aristocratic bodies. The great London Companies had in fact this origin. The greater size of modern Trades Unions, and the wider distribution of their members, will prevent them from following quite the same line of development, but the acquisition of power will be more

trying to them than the period through which they passed in the earlier part of the century, when they were jealously regarded by the law. Their purpose, that of the older Unions at least, is to serve as a Benefit Society, to free members who may be in trouble from coming upon public or private charitable aid, to encourage a high standard of work in the trade, to make certain regulations for the conduct of the trade, and to secure as good wages as possible for the workers. They used to be treated as illegal combinations, but as far back as 1824 they were partially recognized, in 1871 they were put on a legal footing and enabled to hold property through trustees, and in 1875 they were put completely on the same footing as any Friendly or Benefit Society.

There is no doubt that their work has been in many ways beneficial to the community. Questions of work and wages can be more conveniently settled, on a large scale, by organized bodies of both masters and men than by individual action. The hardships incidental to a struggle for work, by disorganized workmen bargaining with disorganized employers, may be mitigated by Unions. But to be complete the organization must be recognized on both sides, and employers and employed must allow each others' organizations, if they cannot yet be organized in one body for the pursuance of what are after all their common interests, for prosperous workmen do good work, and liberal masters are well-served as a rule. The man deserves well of his country who brings classes together, not who sows dissensions between them. The world gives less glory to the peacemakers than to the warmakers, but a higher authority has given to the former the greater praise. But in practice, the Unions have subordinated their other aims very much of late to the object of organizing and

supporting strikes for an increase of wages. A strike is of course a perfectly legal operation in itself—it may do good or it may not, that is a question for men to decide for themselves, but whether successful or not it is a kind of war. As such it is open to the objections which are to be found to all wars. Human nature being what it is, war will sometimes be necessary, but a necessary evil always. It is injurious to the better feelings of humanity, it entails loss and suffering, and all wars are liable to produce unexpected results. The late great coal strike for instance, of 1893, whatever its other results, has inflicted on the whole community losses equal to those of a considerable national war, and has driven out of England altogether some trade which may never return, or not till a war on the Continent perhaps drives it back again. Any war, a strike among others, may attain its object, but every war will always be found to be an extravagant and wasteful way of obtaining an object. It may be the only way, but the wisdom of statesmen who are always going to war is to be distrusted. And war is always likely to lead to injustice, and cannot be waged without injury to non-combatants. It is perfectly allowable for men to strike, and men who have joined themselves to an association have implicitly pledged themselves to act with that association. But to coerce or intimidate men who choose to work on whatever terms please themselves, is a perfectly unjustifiable exercise of tyranny of the worse kind, against the law, against morality, and against the best interests of all who prize political liberty and self-respect. The duty of the citizen with regard to Trades Unions or other voluntary associations is similar to his duty towards the State. It is his business to take an active part in the management of the body to which he has joined himself, and to do his best to make it

serve its purpose, and not to let it fall into the hands of a few interested people to be worked for their private advantage.

Various means have been suggested for avoiding the disagreements which give rise to labour wars.

Co-operative trading, or the joint ownership of businesses by those who are supplied through them, or who work at them, offers a great apparent advantage, as avoiding the chance of disagreement between employers and employed. Co-operative supply, by which men club together to supply themselves with necessities at a cheaper rate, and of a better quality than they could obtain singly, has been very successful in many instances. The management is comparatively simple, and there is little opportunity for disagreement among those who have joined. Co-operative Supply Societies have therefore flourished greatly. But this disagreement does occur in the case of Co-operative production, and has wrecked some such enterprises. In a Co-operative factory all the men working are themselves employers, and their managers are the employed. The employers have sometimes failed to recognize the full value of intelligent management, and have underpaid it, getting in consequence badly served. The same moral therefore meets us in labour questions of all kinds, the need of consideration for others. The masters, who work with their brains, underrate sometimes the manual labour of men; the men, who work with their hands, underrate the brain work of the men who manage. So also the men masters in Co-operative businesses have underrated the services of the men managers. Work is paid partly in proportion to the number of men who can do it, and till education is far more advanced and spread the number of good hands will be far in excess of the number of good

heads. It is the duty of each to try and understand the other. One very sure test of a truly noble character is admiration of the powers which a man does not himself possess. We cannot all become noblemen—we can all aim at being noble men.

Arbitration may be wisely employed to stop labour wars, as it may be for stopping national wars. The difficulty is the same in both cases, that it may need a war to force people to agree to the terms of the arbitrator, if either side is dissatisfied with the award. What the State might do would be to collect and publish full information about the questions at issue in labour disputes, so as to put public sympathy clearly on the side of justice, with complete knowledge of the points in dispute. The contending parties themselves would often be the better for such information impartially set forth, and outside public opinion would be an irresistible force in favour of the side of the right.

The duties of a citizen bring him face to face with other voluntary associations for doing all kinds of work. So much of the work of the community is done by these that the worthy citizen must be more or less involved in them. In all he should do his best to make them subserve their purpose well.

Our gas and water supply is usually in the hands of private companies, though sometimes of municipalities. Our communications are in the hands of railway companies and steamship companies. Our money business is in the hands of banks, owned by companies or by a few partners. Even the Bank of England was in its origin a private association of merchants. Our necessary trade is carried on by great companies. The lighthouses which guard our shores were originally the work of the private

corporation of the Trinity House. Our lifeboat service furnishes the noblest opportunities for the most heroic duties, done by private men at their own risk entirely. Our hospitals were mostly started and are supported by private benevolence, and the same is true of a multitude of other charitable agencies. Our higher education is carried out in similar ways. The so-called great Public Schools are generally not public really. Some, like Cheltenham College, belong to a company. Others, like Harrow, were founded and endowed by private liberality. Even Eton, though it was founded by a king, was endowed out of what were then his private estates. They are not Public Schools in the sense in which the Board School is a Public School, they are not aided out of rates or taxes. The Colleges in the Universities were mostly founded and endowed by private persons. Even our religious needs are provided for in the same way. Even the tithes paid to the Incumbents of the parishes of the Church of England were, so far as their origin can be traced, private benefactions, though early confirmed and enforced by law. The Church of England was, at the beginning, a voluntary association, which owed part of its great power and the privileges which it acquired, to the fact that it existed before there was one compacted state of England.*

Voluntary religious associations have sprung up since, working for similar objects upon different lines. One and all can only hold property subject to the laws of the State,

* The Tithes therefore are of the nature of a property, not a tax. The property may be transferred to other hands, as in the case of the Disestablished Church of Ireland, but is not abolished. Tithes are still payable in Ireland unless commuted for a lump sum. Tithes are, in the eye of the law, a kind of real estate, like landed property. As such, whether in lay or ecclesiastical hands, they are liable to be rated for local purposes and for the relief of the poor.

and disputes about it must ultimately be decided by the courts of the State. Every association, religious or commercial or charitable or learned, must be an object of concern to the State in proportion to its importance, and citizens as a body must be interested in them, apart from the special interest of those most immediately concerned with each.

Most of these associations that I have mentioned are so important, or rich, or powerful, or all three, that the State is obliged to control them. One private company, the East India Company, became so important that it was absorbed, and its duties in governing India completely taken over by the State in 1858. These bodies having been raised to the rank of corporations by the law, and thereby given certain advantages, have been therefore subjected to certain control by the State, and must always be subject to some control. The rule holds good of all important associations, the general conduct of whose business affects the interests of large numbers of the community. Otherwise they would become states themselves, within the State, and break up our national unity and power. Railway Companies manage our most important means of transit. They are private Companies, but the State has stepped in to aid them in acquiring the land necessary for their purposes, and they are so indispensable to all that the State has carefully regulated their arrangements for traffic. The servants of such companies are more especially servants of the State than most of us, and as good citizens are bound specially to consider the interests of the community at large in all they do. In proportion to the importance of such associations all connected with them have duties of special weight, besides rights, and are liable to special legislation for the sake of the community. Railway Acts, and some

Ecclesiastical Acts, are of such a kind of special legislation. The rule holds good of Trade Associations among others, and on the day that Trades Unions control all the labour of the country, they must find themselves controlled by the State. As we are Englishmen first, and members of Trades Unions, Churches, Universities, Railway Companies, and so on secondly, we must acquiesce in this consequence. The interests of the whole community stand first in importance.

But, meanwhile, we have ample opportunities for doing our duty, for work in short as members of some of these associations. From the meeting of the Reading Room Committee up to the Church Congress of the Church of England, from the Trades Union Congress down to the meetings of the village Club, we have scope for action and duties as good citizens. It will probably be good for our neighbours, and for ourselves, if we try to become familiar with the work of some one form of private association for common ends, and work specially at that, supporting the Club, the Church, the Chapel, the particular charity, the Volunteer Corps, or whatever it is that we can work at best.

The duties of a citizen are certainly not confined to what he is obliged to do by the State, nor even to what he is invited to do. He is an unprofitable servant to his country unless he exerts himself, so far as opportunity offers, to aid in the promotion of some at least of the many useful schemes and occupations which make our social life the living, active, beneficent organism which it is.

Public meetings control many of these affairs, and public meetings are held for many political and social objects besides. Does it occur to all of us that we have duties with regard to public meetings—a duty of attending

in order to help and in order to learn ; a duty in attending meetings to hear speakers with whom we may not agree, and to hear arguments, not to howl like wild beasts and make disorder like schoolboys ; a duty of upholding the authority of the duly-constituted Chairman, who is there to keep order ? We are governed by argument and reason and by discussion, and discussion to be useful, to exist indeed, must be free. Often, we know, at a public meeting, a man wants to "say his say," and say it he will, though the Chairman may quite justly have ruled the point out of order as irrelevant, or though some one else may have said all the sense in "the say" already. This persistence in speaking is not so bad as disorder, but it is dangerously near to causing the same results. Liberty of speech is a birthright of Englishmen, and we are all ready to condemn the Governments of the past, which put men in the pillory, or even put them to death, for freely expressing opinions. We are as truly as they were enemies of this very breath of our constitution if we shout down opponents, and otherwise violently interrupt public meetings. Indeed, so much of the discussion of the present day is carried on in print, through the newspapers, that we are scarcely acting up to the spirit of free speech and discussion if we refuse to read the newspapers which support a policy from which we differ. Those newspapers likewise sin against the spirit of free speech which refuse to notice the arguments of their opponents, or what is worse and commoner, deliberately distort those arguments.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE ARMY.

THE social life of the world is not yet wholly governed by discussion and arbitration. The whole fabric of order and of political and personal liberty which we have been considering must be defended, not only against the forces of disorder or tyranny at home, but against foreign enemies. So long as human nature is imperfect every state will be possibly liable to have wars with another, as men have possible quarrels with each other. The interests of states will be supposed to clash, and they may have to defend those interests by arms, or some serious aggression may justify the most vigorous resistance at all costs. An army, even if it never fires a shot in anger, is an unfortunate necessity, to guard against the chances of war, if for nothing else. In these days of specialization a professional army is necessary, if there is to be any useful army at all. Formerly all men did most things for themselves; and the man who tilled the land not only made his own farm implements, but sallied out if need arose for the defence of his fields or for the plunder of those of his neighbours. The old English law was that every man was to provide himself with armour and weapons according to his property, and was to come to fight if need were for the defence of the country. As a matter of fact this style of army, while always ready to fight for the county, or for the town, was

seldom very eager to fight for the country, to which their feelings of patriotism hardly extended. That was one great reason why England was conquered by the Danes and Normans successively. But the use of trained fighting men was early apparent. King Canute had a small standing army, and after his time the great Earls, who were powerful under Edward the Confessor, had their own private armies, of course of small numbers only. It was this force, the Housecarls and Thingmen, as they were called, of the House of Godwine, who made such a glorious stand, and died fighting round the body of Harold Godwineson at Hastings. These early English soldiers mostly used swords and javelins, and later two-handed axes. Later still the strength of the army consisted of heavy armed cavalry, with mail coats and spears, supported by bowmen. The Norman Army which won at Hastings was so equipped.

The Norman Conquest introduced a new kind of military service. Land was granted on condition of the holder doing military service to the king, or to the other lord of the land, with an adequate following for forty days. But this feudal array, as it is named, was very little used for important war. When a great foreign invasion was expected, or a great rebellion had to be put down, the Norman and early Plantagenet kings alike summoned the old English *militia*, that is the whole people in arms, under the command of the Sheriff or Earl of their respective counties, and the counties supplied them with necessaries during service. But the great foreign enterprises of Henry II. and his family, and much of their suppression of internal rebellion, were carried out by paid mercenaries, hired for the occasion from all countries, but especially from Brabant and Flanders, the modern Belgium. The great wars of Edward I. and Edward III., in Scotland and France, were carried on by

paid soldiers from all their dominions, English, Gascons, Welsh, Irish. But the very best of these were the English Archers, who shot so well with their six-foot long bows and cloth-yard arrows, that no foe could stand in front of them. Archers were paid 3d. a day, which was very good pay then. We ought, as a nation, to be as much at home with the rifle as our forefathers were with the long bow. If the land holders of that time were called upon to do their military service to the king, it could only be for a limited time, and they had to be paid for further attendance. This knight-service was usually commuted for a money payment to the king. It was the expense of these wars which gave the Commons the opportunity of first asserting their power, their aid being essential to pay for them. The long wars in France under Henry V. and his son's governors, followed by the wars of the Roses in England, bred up a race of professional fighting men of the most dangerous description, who constituted one of those perils to society against which the almost despotic power of Edward IV. and Henry VII. was called upon to guard the State. But when peace returned there was no attempt to keep up a standing army. This made the Government sometimes extraordinarily powerless against a sudden popular movement. In 1497 the Cornishmen rose against an unpopular tax, voted in Parliament, and marched under the leadership of a blacksmith, an attorney, and a bankrupt peer, from Cornwall to Blackheath, near Greenwich, before being defeated. It is to be remembered that all the despotic acts of the Tudor sovereigns were the work of a government which had no army, except troops hastily summoned when a war began, and really no policemen either. The same state of things continued till the Civil Wars of Charles I.'s time. His rule for eleven years without Parliament was founded upon no

force, except the traditional respect for government. There was a small army in Ireland, but it was insufficient for the controlling of the wild tribes there. If either side had had a trained army of ten thousand men at the beginning of the Civil Wars the strife would have been very quickly ended. The only trained soldiers in the country were men who had served in the foreign armies in Germany and Flanders, where great wars were going on. The Civil Wars brought a permanent standing army to the front in England. The Constitutions proposed under Cromwell tried to make this army a necessarily permanent part of the State, not to be done away with, nor even reduced. This did not last; but after the Restoration of Charles II. a standing army became an acknowledged instrument for the defence of the Government, as well as for the defence of the country. The militia, however, or levy of men for the national defence in the counties, still continued.

There can of course be no question that a standing army which will obey orders is a most formidable increase of the strength of a Government. The rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth, under James II., was just the kind of rebellion which had often shaken the throne before; but it was crushed in a moment, in spite of the courage of its supporters, by the regular troops and artillery of James II. There is little doubt that the Jacobites in 1715 would have been masters of Scotland and of the North of England, if not of the whole, had it not been for a few thousand regular soldiers opposed to them. In 1688 the Revolution was bloodless in England, because the army of James II. was taken over to William III. by its officers. A popular insurrection against an army is criminal folly, the more since the improvement of modern rifles and artillery. It is not only to be condemned as disorder, but it is disorder

which cannot hope to succeed. This being so, the composition, command, and conduct of an army are of the greatest importance, over and above the great consideration of a man's own duty in helping to defend his country.

The four chief branches of the army are Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery, and Engineers. The Infantry are now armed with the magazine rifle, which will, if desired, discharge seven shots in a few seconds, and with the bayonet. The Cavalry carry swords or lances and carbines. The front ranks of all heavy Cavalry regiments are now armed with lances. The Artillery work the guns, either Horse Artillery guns, which can move rapidly, and are escorted by mounted men, or field guns, which are heavier. Garrison Artillery in fortified posts is heavier still. The Engineers are the Sappers, Miners, bridge builders, and the scientific and mechanical branch of the army. Their officers are highly educated, and indeed all officers now have to work hard at the science of their profession if they wish to get on. About once a month, taking one year with another, a man is promoted from the ranks to a commission in the Infantry or Cavalry, but all officers have to qualify by examinations for their rank. Our army contains at present three regiments of Household Cavalry, ten of heavy Cavalry, and eighteen of light Cavalry; three regiments of Foot Guards, sixty-seven regiments of Infantry of the line, generally taking their name from some county, two Rifle regiments, Engineers, Artillery, and Military Train. The Home and Colonial establishment is about 139,000 men, the Indian establishment about 71,000, exclusive of the native troops in India.

The British Army now is recruited on the short service system. That is, men are as a rule enlisted as soldiers under an arrangement that they shall serve only for a few

years—usually seven or three, according to the regiments in which they serve—and are then discharged from a regular military life. Some men however are still re-enlisted for longer periods. The short service men are kept in the Reserve, with a small retaining payment, and are liable to be called out for exercise, or for a great emergency to take their place in the ranks again. There are now about 75,000 men in the Reserve. This plan is supposed to ensure a readier supply of recruits, and to provide a reserve, by passing large numbers of men through the ranks in a short time. It was adopted in imitation of the German system. But there is the great difference that in Germany and in most European countries the whole population is passed through the army. An obligation of universal service is recognized. Formerly some men used to be chosen by conscription, that is, by drawing lots, in these countries—now all are expected to serve. Man for man the system is of course much cheaper than ours. When all men must serve, they need not be tempted by pay, whereas our army has to compete in the labour market, and pay the men who voluntarily enlist what will induce them to do so. Ours is the only considerable army in the world raised entirely by voluntary enlistment. Indirectly the German or continental method is very expensive, because it withdraws the whole youth of the country from productive employment for a short space, but still for an important space, in their lives. The supporters of the system say that this is counterbalanced by the habits of discipline which are impressed upon everyone. It would be perhaps better to say that it is valuable from its bringing home to everyone the duty of serving the nation. Many continental countries in which this system prevails had not originally the same amount of public spirit that

existed in England, and need this training more than we need it.

A farther consequence springs from universal service, and even from our plan of short service. The army so created will always be more in touch with popular feeling than an army composed of soldiers who have enlisted for a long period, and who have made the army their home for their working lives. A short service, or universal service army, can never be depended upon by a government which wants to crush a really popular movement. It will feel with the people. Unless history is a false guide, the people who have been trained to arms will, in the long run, acquire political influence answering to the material force which they represent. Just as a man whose powers are increased by education is sure to become more or less of a force in politics, so the man who can form part of an army to fight for his desires, must have some respect shewn to his wishes. The composition of an army has therefore a political importance for citizens to consider.

Whatever may be said for or against universal service, we are not likely to adopt it altogether, because a great part of our army must always be serving in India and the Colonies. The sacrifice which a German or a Frenchman makes in serving in the army in Germany or France,* is slight compared to what we should have to make if we were forced, all of us, to serve in India, Egypt, or South Africa. If we had universal service we should have to have two armies, one for home defence, raised in this manner, another for India and the Colonies, raised as now

* It is true that Frenchmen are obliged to serve in Algeria; but the small Colonial force which the French need, in West Africa and Tonquin, is raised by voluntary enlistment like our army, and largely consists of foreigners, not Frenchmen.

by voluntary enlistment, and we certainly do not want for home defence only so large an army as that plan would give to us. We have as it is one special army for Indian use, composed of the more warlike nations of India and of its frontiers, especially Sikhs, Ghoorkas, and Afghans, officered by natives and by Englishmen. It is in some ways as fine an army as exists, and affords a good example of members of the different parts of the Empire standing shoulder to shoulder for its defence. There are also small special forces raised in some of the Colonies. All these fall as an expense upon Indian or Colonial funds, not upon our exchequer.

Besides the regular army we have three other forces in Great Britain—militia, yeomanry, and volunteers. The militia are raised by voluntary enlistment like the regular army, and the men receive some pay. A recruit is kept some time at the *dépôt* of the regiment to learn his drill, and is subsequently called out for generally twenty-eight days' training in the year. At other times he is engaged in his ordinary business, and is only paid during such time as he is undergoing training, or when the regiment is permanently embodied, as it may be in war-time. In cases of necessity the militia may be employed out of the country, with their own consent, in Malta, Gibraltar, the Isle of Man, or the Channel Islands. During the Crimean war several regiments volunteered for service at Gibraltar and Malta. The militia battalions are linked with those infantry regiments of the line named after their counties, and form the third and fourth battalions of those regiments. They would be brigaded together in war in this country, and men are expected to volunteer from the militia battalions to join the line. It is worth notice that formerly in war-time men were chosen by lot to serve in

the militia, whether they would or no, and that this could still be legally enforced in time of necessity, though the public spirit of Englishmen has made it unlikely to be employed. In the Channel Islands service in the militia is still compulsory. The yeomanry are a kind of mounted militia, serving on similar terms, except that there is no legal power in reserve of filling their ranks by a ballot. They are, however, usually of a slightly richer class than the militia, for they have to keep their own horses, receiving only a small allowance from the State towards their expenses. The militia number about 140,000 men nominally; the yeomanry about 14,000. Our total of regulars and militia comes to about 364,000 men, with 149,000 native troops in India. The war strength of the German Army is about 2,200,000, and of the Russian Army 2,400,000 men.

Lastly come the Volunteers. At the beginning of the century, when invasion was expected from France, many volunteer corps were formed. These lasted through the war, in more or less numbers, but subsequently were all disbanded but one, the Honourable Artillery Company, which had existed for long before the others. In 1860 a fear of French invasion led to a revival of volunteer corps, which now, we may hope, have reached a permanent footing. The ballot for the militia, perhaps some form of universal service, have been rendered unnecessary by the volunteer movement. The volunteer corps are now linked, as it is called, with the infantry regiments of the regular army, and with the militia of each county, and some local interest is appealed to on behalf of the regiment of the county. Men are encouraged to pass from the militia into the regular regiment, and in time of real necessity, European war and threatened danger, no doubt men who had already got some

valuable training as soldiers would pass from the volunteer corps into the regular forces. In this volunteer force, and in those who have at least learned to handle a rifle in it, lies one of our best reserves, and one of the most valuable proofs that we are yet a nation worthy of the name. It is a foolish fashion sometimes to laugh and sneer at the volunteers. Working civilians, working for their living with hands or brains, who give only a short time to drill, cannot of course be equal to well-drilled regular troops, much less to seasoned soldiers who have been shot at. But are we worse than our fathers? In 1804 an alarm spread throughout the South of Scotland that the French were really coming at last. The rumour was of course untrue; but it was fully believed for a time, and fire signals were blazing on every hill to call the volunteers of those days together. In an incredibly short space of time men living in remote valleys, upon bad roads, had met together at their various points of *rendezvous*, armed, mounted, equipped, and ready for instant service. Two members of one cavalry corps happened to be absent from home. The lately married wife of the one, the widowed mother of the other, sent on the horses, arms, and uniforms of the two, that they might join the others fully prepared. A friend, complimenting the widow on the readiness with which she had equipped her son to face danger, was answered: "Sir, none can know better than you that my son is the only prop by which, since his father's death, our family is supported. But I would rather see him dead on that hearth than hear that he had been a horse's length behind his companions in the defence of his king and country." The sons and husbands of women like these would have been worthy opponents of Napoleon's veterans if they had landed. There is no reason to suppose that the volunteers of the present day would not be equally

ready to do their duty. Everybody of course cannot join volunteer corps, nor enlist in the militia. In country places especially the difficulty of meeting for drill is against volunteering, but there are many young men in towns who might join, and make themselves efficient, with advantage to themselves and to their country.

One great advantage to themselves is that they have in so doing to submit to discipline. We all like to be our own masters. We do not stop to think that if we are really our own *masters* we ought to impose a very strict curb upon ourselves by aid of reason. To be his own master means to many a young man being under the mastery of whims, passions, idle companions, and idle impulses of his own. We should many of us have been the better for voluntarily submitting ourselves to more discipline, of one sort or another, than we have done. No obedience is more honourable than the obedience of a soldier to the orders of the Queen in the cause of the country.

The army in England is under the command of the Crown; that is, the Crown, acting through the Secretary of State for War, and through the Commander-in-Chief, makes regulations for recruiting, for the giving of commissions to officers, for the promotion of officers, for the movements of regiments, for the arming of soldiers with certain weapons, for their equipment and for their pay, and for the building of barracks, forts, and magazines. The same authority directs the movement of soldiers to places where they are wanted, or where they will encounter an enemy. At the same time the maintenance of a standing army in England in time of peace, without the consent of Parliament, is illegal under the Bill of Rights, passed in 1689, when the Crown was offered on conditions to William III. All the money required for the military service is voted year by

year in Parliament, and the whole discipline of the army depends upon the Army Discipline Act, subjecting soldiers to a strict law of their own, which is also passed year by year.* So just as the raising of soldiers was originally a means for the rise of the influence of the House of Commons, so the maintenance of an army now is a guarantec for the yearly meeting of Parliament, if any such guarantee is needed now-a-days.

It is necessary that a soldier should be subject to a stricter law than an ordinary citizen. The use of an army depends upon its discipline. The mere possession of weapons, and the knowledge how to handle them, are not enough to make an army. The habit of absolute obedience to orders, of absolute subordination to lawful commanders, of acting together in consequence, are what make a regular army able to do its work. The soldier is a citizen who for the common good has to part with many of the ordinary liberties of a citizen, and to be prepared to go to unhealthy climates, to take his chance of disease and accident, to risk or perhaps certainly lose his life for a very small allowance of money. It is not really of course the pay which attracts men to become soldiers, whether in the ranks or as officers. It is a love of excitement, of change, of seeing foreign countries, of wearing a smart uniform even. There is, we will hope, little fear of those citizens who have adopted this calling failing in their duty. The traditions of the English army are second to none. It was the opinion of

* From 1689 the Mutiny Act was passed year by year, and might be debated clause by clause. In 1879 the Army Discipline Act was passed, making permanent regulations for discipline, with a *proviso* that a short Act should be passed yearly, saying that the Army Discipline Act in its entirety is to be law for a year. There are also permanent Acts regulating the militia and the volunteers.

a French Marshal that "The English Infantry is the best in the world. Fortunately there is very little of it." The memories of Waterloo, where of the English Infantry, who bore the brunt of the fighting, one man in three was killed or wounded; of Inkerman, the soldiers' battle, where nine thousand English Infantry fought fifty thousand Russians; of the defence of the Residency of Lucknow, a place which was untenable altogether in military judgment, but which was held for eighty-seven days by the 32nd regiment and a few other men, before Havelock's relief, prove that the Frenchman was right. The record of the Artillery, Engineers, and Cavalry is not behind that of the Infantry in gallantry. The misdirected heroism of the Light Cavalry at Balaclava electrified the generous French onlookers. The danger is of the boys who enter the service forgetting their duties in peace, not in war, and rioting like neither good soldiers nor good citizens. But the community at large is not blameless in its attitude towards the members of it who become soldiers, and often goes about to spoil them. People are too apt alternately to ill-treat and abuse soldiers on the one hand, or turn their heads with praise and "free drinks" on the other. There is much truth in the lines—

"Oh ! it's Tommy here, and Tommy there, and 'chuck 'im out the
brute,'

But it's 'saviour of 'is country' when the guns begin to shoot."

This treatment is bad for any man, and sensible men should treat soldiers as they treat other men belonging to a hard-working, honourable, and most necessary profession.

CHAPTER XX.

THE NAVY; WAR AND PEACE.

THE principal force for the protection of our country is not the army after all, but the navy. The navy has always been a popular force. It has been very successful; it is the greatest in the world, which cannot be said of our army, however good it may be; it is always, in a sense, on active service, fighting the waves when not fighting the enemy, and the most nervous patriot has never looked upon it as an instrument by which a government could coerce the nation, not even when Charles I. demanded ship money. The Crown commands the navy as it commands the army, but the command is exercised through the First Lord of the Admiralty, assisted by the Board of Admiralty, not through the War-office. The orders of the Admiralty regulate the raising, pay, promotion, equipping, arming, and lodging of men and officers for the navy. They also direct the building of ships of various kinds, and the movements of ships. The money required for such purposes is voted by the House of Commons, but there is no law directly forbidding the keeping up of a navy in time of peace without consent of Parliament. Of course Parliamentary supplies are necessary for it, and the discipline of the navy is regulated by Naval Discipline Acts, of which the first was passed soon after Charles II. came to the throne, and the last in the

present reign. But the captain of a ship of the Royal Navy at sea has discretionary powers of a wide kind for dealing with smaller offences, and complete power of dealing with greater offences too in case of need. He is the most despotic person in the whole kingdom in his own sphere, because while at sea he must be able to command complete obedience for the safety of the ship and of the lives of his crew.

The origin of the naval forces of the country is not to be found in any general obligation for defence. Necessarily most people could never either furnish ships or fight on board them on short notice. Alfred had a fleet of his own, but our early kings generally used to hire ships when they were wanted. In Edward the Confessor's time some ports on the south coast were required to furnish ships for the defence of the country in return for certain special privileges of self-government and self-taxation. Thus was begun the famous organization of the Cinque Ports. Hastings, Dover, Sandwich, Romney, and Hythe were the original ports; Winchelsea and Rye were added, and there were numerous "Limbs," as they were called—small places which contributed small ships and a few men. This was the foundation of the English navy. In addition to the Cinque Ports' navy, the kings, from Edward III., began to build ships of their own. Henry V. built a considerable navy, and established its chief basis at Southampton, the Cinque Port harbours being already partly blocked with sand, and incapable of floating the larger ships which were coming into use. English histories seldom recognize how much our foreign policy in the Middle Ages depended upon commercial and maritime questions, and how important a part naval warfare played in our wars. The naval battles of Edward the Third's reign—Sluys, Les

Espagnols sur Mer, and La Rochelle—were more important in their results than Cressy and Poitiers. Cannon were employed on board English ships as early as the reign of Edward III., and archers formed an important part of their fighting force too.

But it was in the reign of Elizabeth that the defeat of the Spanish Armada by the English ships and by the weather—in 1588—shewed how decisively naval power could defend our shores. Henceforward, though there was often an insufficiency of money for maintaining the fleet in due efficiency, and though there was often mismanagement and corruption in naval affairs, the necessity of a strong fleet was always acknowledged. A succession of victories won and preserved our naval supremacy. In the time of the Commonwealth, and under Charles II., we had many obstinate sea fights with the Dutch. Other nations can equal our land battles, and foreign troops even shared in Blenheim and Waterloo. No nation has equalled and none shared the catalogue which begins with La Hogue, which lights the darkest hours of our history with Rodney's victory in 1782, with St. Vincent and Camperdown in 1797, and which goes on by the Nile to Trafalgar, and yet onwards, how far? The past services of our navy culminated in Trafalgar, where Nelson with twenty-seven ships of the line met the French and Spaniards with thirty-three, and though some of the thirty-three got off from the battle itself, not a single one of them ultimately escaped to do battle with us again. Everyone from boyhood has heard of Nelson's famous signal hoisted on the morning of Trafalgar, October 21st, 1805: "England expects every man to do his duty." Fewer know how the fleet received it—with a grumble—the tars saying, "Why, what does the Admiral expect?" Duty was a matter of course they

thought. Before the day was done Nelson lay dying, with the words, "Thank God, I have done my duty," on his lips, cheered by the news that nineteen sail of the line had already struck their colours to his fleet. In the course of the long French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, our navy took part in about 750 actions, small and great, the large majority of them victories, and not one a serious disaster. Though Waterloo, the final victory of that war, was fought on land, it was the navy which really beat Napoleon.

In the old days of wooden sailing ships our ordinary seafaring population was immediately available for manning ships of the Royal Navy. In seamanship they knew all that could be desired, and a short drill soon made them useful with the small artillery then in use. When men were badly wanted for the navy, the press gang carried off by force seamen, and even landsmen, who were compelled to serve. But the press gang cannot be used now, and would be of little use if it were employed. About fifty years ago the use of steam in the navy was seriously taken in hand. But in the Crimean war of 1854-1856 a great many of our ships of the line were sailing ships still. In 1860 the plating of wooden steamers with iron armour began, owing to the greater power of the cannon used; and now our ships of the line are built exclusively of iron and steel, and our swift cruisers for the protection of commerce, and most of our smaller vessels, of the same materials less massively constructed. Modern ships carry rifled guns of great weight and of ingenious mechanism, and are filled with steam and electric and hydraulic machinery. Consequently the old-fashioned sailor has become of comparatively little use. The service is a highly skilled one, needing special training. We can accordingly have no short service at sea,

as we have in the army on shore ; men must be trained for a long time, and kept in the service. Boys are trained for the navy, and a fine profession is offered by it to boys who otherwise would be in mischief on shore. They become the best of sailors. But much purely military work has to be done at sea, or by forces landed from our ships, and therefore one powerful part of our naval force has always been the Marines. The Marine Light Infantry and the Marine Artillery are soldiers trained to serve with the fleet at sea, but available also for service on shore. They are paid for out of the Naval Estimates, and are a long service body. No regiments have a prouder record of service, nor contain a more trustworthy body of officers and men. We have of course men in reserve for the naval service in addition to those afloat. The first line of our Naval Reserve is the Coast Guard. They are experienced sailors, quartered all round the coast to prevent smuggling, to aid ships in distress, and generally to act as a kind of naval police and sentries on our frontier. They are liable to serve at sea if required. We have a Naval Reserve also, of merchant seamen, who go through a certain amount of training, and of merchant ships, which can be fitted as cruisers in war time. We still have an advantage over many countries in the men whom we can draw upon for the navy. Many of the devices of machinery introduced into our warships are common to the steamers of the merchant service also. We have, moreover, a larger population of sailors, engineers, iron shipbuilders, and fitters, and skilled mechanics who could undertake some of the duties required in modern ships. Though an ordinary sailor may have everything to learn on board a man-of-war, yet he is better than a landsman. We can certainly build iron ships faster and cheaper than most countries can,

owing to our greater mechanical skill and resources, but it takes us three years to build a first-class battleship.

The naval supremacy, which was sealed at Trafalgar, and which these resources must help us to keep, is not a mere matter of honour and glory ; it is a matter of existence to us as a nation, and a matter of our daily bread. Before the unity of Germany was accomplished, and before the war of 1870, France exercised a much greater influence on the Continent than she has done since. Her military overthrow by Germany robbed her of military supremacy, but cannot be said to have impaired her resources, nor prevented her from being a great country. Frenchmen can be as prosperous now as they were before the war. A naval overthrow of England would be a very different matter for us. We are the workshop and the money market of the world. Three-quarters, roughly, of the food we eat comes from abroad. The raw materials which supply our manufactures come from abroad. Our business life depends upon our supposed security from invasion. A great naval overthrow would not only leave us open to invasion, but it would render invasion unnecessary, and ruin us without it. We should be starved into accepting any terms offered. We must consider, if we can, the state of things when we should awake to the fact that there was only about three months' supply of food in the country, and foreign supplies were at the mercy of hostile cruisers. That the supply of cotton and wool, and of other things, would only keep factories running for a short time, and that no more materials were coming, but that as our export trade was stopped therefore half the mills might stop at once. That the supply of gold to the Bank of England was cut off, and all the banks in the country driven to close their doors, or pay only in notes which might never be

realisable. We must consider, too, how we should feel when we recognized that this state of things could only be ended by a treaty which would transfer many of our foreign possessions to enemies, who would permanently exclude our trade from them, and which would take away our naval stations, so that we could not support a fleet in distant seas to protect our commerce. We must consider, too, that this great calamity would destroy entirely the confidence upon which our commercial credit has depended, so that, between real injuries and apprehensions of more, our trade would be permanently ruined, and, literally, perhaps half our population driven to emigrate or starve.

This is not an exaggerated picture of the results of a complete naval overthrow, a misfortune which has never happened to us yet, but which formerly, had it happened, could not have done us the harm which it would do now. A great population has grown up in these islands, dependent for its prosperity, and ultimately for its existence, upon a commerce which would be destroyed by our permanently losing the command of the sea. Surely it is the duty of every citizen to take steps to prevent such an awful calamity. And, so far as human foresight can extend, it may be prevented. We have the materials, in men and skill and matter, for creating and maintaining a far more powerful fleet than any other country, except perhaps the United States. They, with their home supplies of food and materials, are not in need of such a fleet. The saying of Napoleon, that "Providence is always upon the side of the bigger battalions," though cynically expressed, has truth in it. Mischief is done by boasting about the performances of small forces against great odds. When Sir Richard Grenville, in the *Revenge*, fought fifty-three Spanish ships for over twelve hours, it was a very gallant exploit;

but the judgment of the time was that he might have avoided fighting and saved his ship, and that he should have done so. When Sir John Jervis with fifteen ships beat twenty-seven Spaniards, off Cape St. Vincent, he knew that they were in bad condition, and saw that they were badly handled. He knew that a victory was very essential at the moment, and he saw his opportunity. But he bitterly regretted the absence of six more ships which ought to have been with his fleet but were not.

Whether on sea or land, the great commander endeavours to bring superior force to bear upon the inferior force of his enemy, and the man who manages to do it usually wins. With modern ships, of complex build and heavy armaments, the odds in favour of a superior force are probably very great. We can manage to have those odds on our side, and it is our duty, for we all are part of the Government, we all influence it, it is our duty to see that this is not neglected. It is no question of parties, it is no question of classes; there is only one class affected—that is Englishmen. No question which can possibly occupy the Government of this country can equal in importance the question whether proper precautions are taken to keep it in existence as a country. There is no use in spending time and money on putting down a nice carpet in our house if we take insufficient steps to prevent the neighbouring river from flooding our rooms and making them uninhabitable. There is the precaution of not going to war at all. But that is a precaution which is out of the power of the weak. Other people envy our trade and colonies, and would like to have them, but when a strong man armed keepeth his house his goods are at peace.

We have been speaking of warlike forces, and of the means of making and averting war. The evils of war in

one shape we have considered. Those evils exist in many shapes, even if our ports are not blockaded nor our trade ruined. The waste of wealth, the loss of life, the sorrow and ruin of families, the devastation of fields and houses, are among the necessary features of war. War cannot be made with a gentle hand ; you must try and destroy your enemy. War must be cruel. Though war affords exercises for the greatest displays of valour, endurance, and self-denial, it is also a field for the grossest of all crimes and vices but cowardice. As Shakespeare has said of a time of war :

“ And as our vineyards, fallows, meads, and hedges
Defective in their natures grow to wildness,
Even so, our houses, and ourselves, and children,
I have lost, or do not learn for want of time
The sciences that should become our country,
But grow like savages, as soldiers will
That nothing do but meditate on blood,
To swearing and stern looks, diffused attire,
And everything that seems unnatural.”

The force of our navy has kept war away from our own land for many a long day, and those who have seen war are keenest in their desire to keep it away still. Schemes have been proposed for doing away with war between nations, as the law has done away with war between private men. The obvious want is some power above nations to make them submit to a sentence of the law, as private men have to submit. War, after all, is the only means by which the sentence of a Court of Arbitration can be enforced. If a private man resists the decision of the law courts there is no war, the odds are irresistible against him. It is not so with nations. Nevertheless, wise and honourable nations, notably England and America, have come to estimate the evils of war more highly, and to see that there are points

on which it is better to accept the chance of an adverse decision than to incur the certain losses and problematical gains of fighting. Matters have been submitted to arbitration, and the sentence has been loyally accepted, which would formerly have been the causes of war. The *Alabama* Arbitration is a famous case. During the American Civil War our authorities had been remiss in allowing a Confederate cruiser, the *Alabama*, to be fitted out in England. She afterwards did much damage to American shipping, and the question of responsibility for this was submitted to a Court of Arbitrators, who decided that we should pay a considerable sum. But we entirely refused to submit the question of indirect damages to arbitration at all. We felt that we were partly responsible, and were willing to take our chance of having to pay a good deal, but we were not going to let a Court of Arbitration inflict on us the expenses of a war. The arbitration between England, Canada, and the United States, in the matter of the seal fisheries in Behring's Sea, was decided on the whole in our favour. There must be a certain amount of give and take to make arbitration generally successful. This honourable reluctance to let loose the horrors of war extends further than to cases where there is actual arbitration. England would probably have been at war with another European power within the last ten years if the feeling with regard to war had been what it was in either country a hundred years ago. It is our duty, among other things, to learn to know more of foreign people and to let them know more of us. Mutual respect springs from greater knowledge, and the close commercial ties between nations are sensible links to draw them towards peace, in spite of commercial rivalries. The world is not hastening exactly to an era of universal peace,

but it has got so far as to theoretically approve of such an era, which is more than it used to do. War itself is less barbarous than it was, and less destructive to life too in proportion to the numbers engaged. The enormous forces kept prepared for war on the Continent make their wielders very cautious in doing anything which may provoke a contest which must be on such a fearfully destructive scale should it come. Ties are growing up which render war between certain nations very unlikely. It is our duty to do our best to promote this tendency, but meanwhile to keep possible aggressors out of temptation by showing that we are not in a state to be assaulted and plundered with impunity.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE EMPIRE.

THE consideration of war carries our thoughts naturally to the widespread interests of our trade, our subjects, and our kindred about the earth. The duties of the English citizen are not bounded by the narrow shores of these islands. We are the centre of an Empire of which the world has never seen, and is not likely to see, the equal. The whole dominion of Canada, including Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, British Columbia, and the unsettled North West, with Newfoundland besides, are part of us. Many of the West India Islands, Bermuda, British Honduras, British Guiana, are part of us. Countless South Sea Islands, the whole island continent of Australia, and New Zealand, are part of us. South Africa, parts of Central Africa, provinces upon the lake sources of the Nile, territories on the Niger larger than France, are part of us. Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Aden, Singapore, Hong Kong, North Borneo, Mauritius, many a lonely rock and islet in the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans, and the whole of the great Indian Empire, are part of us. The people of all these are in one sense or another British citizens or British subjects. Egypt, the oldest, richest, and most unfortunate country of the world, enjoys a new hope of life under our protection. The British flag, with its tale of

peace, liberty, and security for the rights which make a man a man, flies over them all. The east wind and the west wind tell us where it flies.

“The desert dust hath dimmed it, the flying wild ass knows,
The scared white leopard winds it across the taintless snows.
What is the flag of England? Ye have but my sun to dare,
Ye have but my sands to travel. Go forth, for it is there !

“The dead dumb fog hath wrapped it—the frozen dews have kissed,
The naked stars have seen it, a fellow star in the mist.
What is the flag of England? Ye have but my breath to dare,
Ye have but my waves to conquer. Go forth, for it is there !”

This is a heritage more noble than King or Emperor was ever born to wield, and it is ours to wield or cast away. It is too late to ask, What is the good of it? The man who is born with gifts must use them, or be condemned to failure and disgrace. The man who has married a wife, and begotten children, must work for that great gift and responsibility, or become as no man, and an outcast of the people. The Empire is a consequence of our constitution and of our national character, and is bound up with them. We never said deliberately, “Let us go and conquer India.” But we traded, as we always will, and we found ourselves amid disorder and conflicting Governments and want of Governments, among French rivals, foreign rulers of India, Moghuls, Persians, and Afghans, and we made order and kept order for our own sake, and for the sake of others. And those who make and keep order rule. We never said, “Let us go out and settle America and Australia.” But our families were large, and our room was narrow ; our sons sought elbow-room, or they sought liberty denied at home ; they sought careers, and they found all these on continents inhabited by a handful of hunters, who never used nor

could use them fully. We did deliberately go and conquer markets. Our trade rivals, French, Dutch, Spaniards, hindered us from trading, and we took factories and plantations, the shops and the farms that employed our people, in the West Indies and on the coast of Africa. We deliberately took the naval stations which are necessary to bind these lands together.

Now, we do not directly govern the greatest of these colonies. Where a great population of English, Scotch, and Irish blood exists it must be self-governing; it will be. But we still have duties to them all. There is good in the connexion. We are the workshop and business centre of the world, and we live on foreign trade. We actually live generally on foreign food. The destruction of that foreign trade would ruin every one without exception. Trade is easier, and greater in volume in proportion to the population, with countries under the British flag than with those under foreign dominion. Indeed, following a really short-sighted commercial policy, foreign nations generally try to exclude our trade from their dependencies. Emigrants pass more freely to countries under the British flag; men return more easily from them. Business is more easily done with them. Then, our trade must be defended. Naval stations all over the world are a necessity for this, and naval stations best depend upon a friendly territory behind them. The retention of the Cape is indispensable for the protection of the best route to India in time of war, when the sinking of one big steamer would block the Suez Canal. The Pacific Railway, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, across America, through British territory, is of vital importance to us and to Australia, and to the Pacific generally in war time. Aden guards the entrance to the Red Sea, Singapore and Hong Kong, the trade between

India and China, Gibraltar and Malta, the Mediterranean, and one route to India.

Nor can they do without us. We provide the self-governing colonies with the machinery of Constitutional Government, under the headship of a Governor or Viceroy, which, while it gives them complete management of their own affairs, saves them from the violent party conflicts, with their accompanying evils, which form the principal drawback to the prosperity of the United States. Colonists coming home to England for education, and Englishmen going out to the colonies, undoubtedly furnish a basis of stability, and a standard of education to the colonies, of which young communities stand in need. If the colonies furnish us with naval stations, we in turn defend them. Australia and South Africa would be seriously hampered by the extension and enterprises of other European powers if they were not under the British flag. The resources of England, our accumulated wealth, are necessary for the development of these new countries. Their railways, their mines, their public works could hardly exist without the help of English capital, and English capital is far more readily lent on the security of our fellow-countrymen than on that of foreign States. With regard to India, the benefit of our presence is undoubted. There is no people of India. There are two chief religions, the Mohammedan and the Hindhu, whose adherents hate each other cordially. There are many other religions, as those of the Seikhs, Parsees, and Buddhists. There are about fifty different languages and dialects, many different races, many conflicting pretensions. Descendants of ancient Hindhu royal houses, descendants of Mahratta freebooters, Persians, Turcomans, Seikhs, Afghans, do their business and even exercise subordinate rule under us, as their

fathers did under Moghul Emperors, with this difference, that the efforts of our Government for the good of the ruled are directed by a consistent policy, and not according to the personal whims of an Eastern despot.

There was once a very great and, on the whole, beneficent foreign ruler of India, Akbhar the Moghul. But he was a single man whose good rule died with him. Our rule is a system, and if it were removed there is no likelihood of any system being put in its place. A wise Hindhu once said to an Austrian traveller: "The withdrawal of the English from India would be like the letting loose of all the beasts in a menagerie. At the end of a short time there would only be one beast left alive, and he would be a tiger with a blood-stained mouth. In our case that tiger would be a Mohammedan." Whether the ultimate victors on our departure would be Mohammedans, and not France or Russia, is a question. If they were any natives of the country, however, they certainly would not be the mere handful of men who have obtained European education; they would be some of the rough, warlike tribes who domineered and plundered before the days of our rule, such as Afghans, Seikhs, or Mahrattas. Our duty calls us at present therefore to the government of India. The recognition of responsibility for a great task laid upon us is an ennobling influence for a people, just as the manifold facing of great responsibilities is in itself an education for a man. Here is a duty laid upon us, and a duty in which some of our sons may share even more directly than by influencing the votes of Parliament. The career of a ruler of India, the Indian Civil Service, is thrown open by competitive examination every year in London. Again we come back to the old lesson, educate. Let us gain a fitness, give our sons a fitness for rule, and opportunities

for wise and beneficent rule will, in one form or another, surely be theirs. If they want opportunity or success in competitive examinations, they will learn the best work of all, how to rule themselves.

It is not impossible that at some future time we may be called upon to consider some plan for linking our Colonies politically closer to us. As the world has never before seen a similar Empire, so the union will be probably on some new lines. The common need of naval defence and trade protection, the common interest in rapid transit, easy postal and telegraphic communications, will perhaps first produce some form of co-operation in the Admiralty and Post-office Departments of government. Perhaps the House of Lords may become a Chamber of Imperial representatives. Such schemes are still quite in the future, but it is part of the duty of a citizen to keep such possibilities in view, and to be prepared to welcome such projects if wisely conceived.

For how great is the prospect which they open before us. It is not only that there are under our flag grassy uplands and fertile valleys, mountain plateaux where the heat of the tropical sun is tempered by air at thousands of feet above the sea, islands which are a paradise of never-ending verdure, sufficient to house and feed many times the population of England, while still remaining Englishmen. It is not only that a British Empire compacted together could defy the world in arms. But there is much more than this. Those arms would never be assumed against us, or but for a moment of rashness, to be soon repented of. By a closely-compacted British Empire, armed for self-defence, a Peace Society such as has not been, a Peace Society which could act, would be thus created. We should hardly be aggressive, unless in defence

against the aggression of barbarians upon our frontiers, and who would dare to be the aggressor? An extended union of our race is a really possible guarantee of peace, founded upon the safe basis of patriotism, which is the only basis yet discovered for a stable human society.

In the Middle Ages the greatest Popes and the greatest Emperors dreamed a noble dream of an international court of arbitration for Europe, presided over by themselves. There was the weak point, the Pope was an Italian sovereign, the Emperor was a German king. Patriotism was arising into being, and patriotism spurned the arbitration of the foreigner. Have we ever stopped to ask why patriotism is a virtue? Surely one great reason is that the organization of the country, which depends for its life upon patriotism, is the only form of law and order and liberty combined which the human race has ever reached as yet, and so far as seems probable is ever likely to reach. Some great empires, like that of Rome, have been orderly, ruled by law, but they have not been free. Some savage tribes are free, but they know no law, and every man's hand is against his neighbour. Many cities, in Greece and Italy especially, have been free and orderly, but from their comparatively small size have ultimately been at the mercy of foreign conquerors. They have not lasted as national states last. A Federation of the World is a great aspiration, but it is in the clouds only. How can England and Russia, even without the Czar, France and Turkey, China and the United States, be equally yoked together? But with our kinsmen we can be yoked in one bond, and without aggression could establish a realm preservative of peace, stretching its arms into five continents. It is to the support of this that our first duty calls us. We are not called upon to extinguish or interfere with other countries

but there is one which it is our business to help and defend. If therefore we fail to be patriotic, to work for our country, if necessary even to fight and to die for our country, we are acting in the cause of disorder and against the human race. In these days of rapid communication, when a voyage from London to Australia is much safer, and not much longer, than was a journey two hundred years ago from London to Inverness, and when communication between London and Sydney is faster than communication sixty years ago between Westminster and the City, the country is capable of indefinite expansion. The Englishman at home, the Canadian and the Australian, the citizen of the United States even, have far more in common now than the Englishman, the Scot, and the Irishman had in James the First's reign. Let the greatest of these extended countries then be England and her colonies. We know that we have faults and shortcomings, but our constitution, our manners, our society, our literature, our religion are as we have wished to have them as a nation—as we have helped to make them. The kind of life, religion, law, government which spreads with the English race, does not represent the highest ideals of single Englishmen, but it does represent the practical working compromise arrived at by the interaction of the ideals of all Englishmen. It is expressed by the political and social constitution which we have been endeavouring to set forth in outline. It is the work of our race—it is our own work. We are sorry folk if we have not made something for our own use which we on the whole prefer to what others have made. We do prefer then surely that the English race, with its laws and customs, should spread and multiply in the earth rather than other races, and that it should absorb other settlers, not be absorbed by them, if they cannot

exist separately side by side. Let us exert ourselves therefore to keep, to extend, to improve the kind of national life which we have preferred. We are secure when we obey our own laws, when we uphold our own constitution, when we cherish our own countrymen, when we love our own country, when we improve all these continually in a spirit of love, as we improve our children—that we are working upon the side not of blind aggrandisement of power, not for vain-glory, not for any gift of money, but for the cause of order, the cause of law, the cause of liberty, the cause of man, and, as He may bless and direct us, in the cause of God. We can each do but little ourselves, but let us give our diligence gladly to give of that little, and we can begin to-night, at home, by being better fathers, husbands, children, to be also better Englishmen. In that little and dearest spot of home are nourished the roots which nourish the empire upon which the sun never sets, and upon which may he ever shine, till the lapse of rolling ages leaves our country but a memory. A noble memory let us make it in the history of the building up of the Right in the world.

When our place no longer is ours,
When the roar of the traffic is done,
When the pit-bank is bright with flowers,
When the streams unsullied run,
When the clang of the engine is silent,
And no smoke cloud veils the sun ;
When the proud Island Mother,
Who reared the strong and free,
The world knows no such other,
Sits lone in her stormy sea,
Let our names be linked with England's,
Mother of the realms to be.

GLOSSARY AND APPENDIX

Alderman, p. 102. Literally, *Elder*. The Alderman was the Military leader of a County in the time before the Danish Conquest of England, after which the name Earl usually superseded Alderman. Now, the Aldermen are the more permanent part of Town or County Councils, elected by the Council for six years, out of their own body or from outside.

Ambassador, p. 61. Envoys accredited to Foreign Courts by Great Britain. All such Envoys are often loosely called Ambassadors, though strictly the name is confined to seven or eight at the principal courts only. They are all under the direction of the Foreign Office.

Assizes, p. 71. Sittings of the Judges of the High Court, for civil and criminal business, in different parts of the country. The Judges go on *Circuit* through the country to hold the Assizes.

Ballot, p. 33. Secret voting, established 1872 to prevent bribery and intimidation.

Bill, p. 40. A proposed form of law submitted to either House of Parliament.

Board of Agriculture, p. 63. A Committee of the Privy Council, empowered to carry out Acts connected with agriculture, cattle, dogs, commons, tithe-commutation, &c. Constituted 1889.

Board of Trade, p. 63. A Committee of the Privy Council empowered to carry out Acts connected with commerce, harbours, light-houses, mercantile marine, railways, canals, tramways, bankruptcy, trading companies, fisheries, explosives, gas, &c. Constituted 1786, and its powers enlarged by various Acts, especially in 1883.

Bye-Laws, p. 115. Literally, *Town Laws*. Laws made by a Corporation or Company, under authority of Parliament, with a limited scope.

Cabinet, p. 56. A Committee of leading Ministers, unknown to the law, who arrange the policy of the Government and practically initiate important legislation.

Canvassing, p. 56. Personal solicitation of voters to give their votes to certain persons; a practice dangerously near to intimidation, corruption, and undue influence.

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Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, p. 66. The chief administrator of the Duchy of Lancaster, which has been vested in the Crown since 1399. The office has few duties, and is practically useful for giving a place in the Government to a man who may be of service in other ways.

Chancellor of the Exchequer, p. 59. The Minister responsible for the control of the Finances, and for the yearly Budget.

Chiltern Hundreds, Steward of the, p. 39. A nominal office under the Crown, acceptance of which vacates a Seat in the House of Commons.

Churchwarden, p. 100. An officer nominated by an Incumbent of a Parish or elected by the Vestry to take care of the church and church property, and sometimes to act as official trustee of an ecclesiastical charity. A qualified person chosen must act.

Colonial Secretary, p. 62. The Minister responsible for Colonial Affairs. Finally constituted as a separate office in 1854.

Colony, Crown, pp. 62-189, &c. A Colony not possessing Representative Institutions, under a Governor appointed by the Crown.

Colony, Self-governing, pp. 62-189, &c. A Colony with Representative Institutions, in which the Governor appointed by the Crown exercises the duties of a Constitutional Sovereign.

Commander-in-Chief, p. 62. The military head of the army. His office is the "House Guards."

Committee, Parliamentary, p. 40. A House of Parliament engaged in the consideration of the details of a Bill. Committees of a few members hear evidence bearing upon private Bills. Select Committees consider the details of Bills of a technical character, or other questions, submitted to them by the House. Grand Committees and Standing Committees are larger Committees which consider the details of Bills of different classes specially committed to them.

Common Law, p. 72. The Law not embodied in Acts of Parliament, but depending upon precedent and immemorial custom.

Consolidated Fund, p. 83. The total revenue of the United Kingdom, the moneys derived from various sources being paid into one common fund.

Constituencies, p. 31. The persons qualified as electors in several districts, who elect representatives of those districts to sit in Parliament.

Constitution, pp. 1-31, &c. The organization of the whole body of the people of the United Kingdom. All acts which are contrary to law are, in some degree, unconstitutional. Many acts which are not against the law are unconstitutional, as tending to disturb the working organization of the state. If the Crown were now to veto a Bill which had passed both Houses, or if the House of Commons

were to pass a Bill prolonging its own existence for ten years, it would be unconstitutional.

Consul, p. 61. An official at a foreign place, charged with the care of the interests of British subjects and trade. They are under the Foreign Office.

Coroner, literally *the Crown Officer*. An official appointed by the County Council to preside over questions or *inquests* in cases of sudden and suspicious death, and on the finding of treasure.

County Courts, p. 76. Law Courts for the settlement of small debts and disputes, and less important legal business not of a criminal nature. In cases involving over £5 a Jury of five may be summoned at the requisition of either party.

The ancient County Courts were the governing bodies of the counties, composed of men who had a personal claim to attend, and of representatives from the different townships in the counties. They were never formally abolished. The election of the Coroner by the county, down to 1888, was the last vestige of their existence.

County Council, p. 105. The Elective Body, choosing its own Aldermen, which administers the affairs of a County or County Borough, under the Local Government Act of 1888.

Crown in Parliament, p. 31. The supreme legislative power of the Kingdom. Laws are enacted by the Crown with the advice and consent of the two Houses.

Dissolution. The final termination of a Parliament by royal proclamation, by which all seats in the House of Commons are vacated. The Speaker vacates his office at a Dissolution. The Ministers of the Crown are unaffected by it.

District Council, p. 107. The Elective Body administering certain Acts, chiefly Sanitary Acts and Highway Acts, in parts of counties, under the Local Government Act of 1888. Its members act also as Guardians of the Poor in the District.

Estates of the Realm, p. 8. The Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and the Commons, assembled in Parliament. *Estates* answered formerly to nearly what we mean by *Classes*. The Crown is not an Estate, and the name Fourth Estate was bestowed on Newspapers as a joke, by persons who did not understand the meaning of the word.

Executive Government, pp. 49-54, &c. The power which executes the laws. The Crown is the supreme executive power.

First Lord of the Admiralty, p. 62. The Minister who presides over Naval Affairs, at the head of the Board of Admiralty.

First Lord of the Treasury, p. 59. An office usually, but not necessarily, held by the Prime Minister. He is head of the Treasury Board, but business connected with money belongs now to the department of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

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Foreign Secretary, p. 61. The Minister responsible for our relations with foreign countries. Constituted as a separate office in 1782.

Franchise, p. 37. Strictly a liberty or right. Now confined to the right of voting for Members of Parliament or of Local Governments.

Government, p. 40. A name applied commonly to the whole body of Ministers, and sometimes to the members voting with them in the two Houses.

Guardians, pp. 108-137. District Councillors, with some others added by themselves, engaged in the administration of the Poor Law.

Habeas Corpus, pp. 72-75. A writ depending primarily on the Common Law, also on a Statute of 1679, by suing for which a man may be certified upon what legal cause he is imprisoned. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act enables a Government to imprison dangerous men without showing cause. Suspension has been resorted to in times of rebellion or riot, under Parliamentary sanction.

High Court of Justice, p. 70. The Supreme Court of Justice in England, consisting of the Lord Chancellor and the other Judges. The Courts of Scotland and Ireland are distinct from it.

Home Secretary, p. 60. The original Secretary of State, responsible for the conduct of affairs in England. The Police are more or less directly under his control.

Hundreds, p. 98. Ancient divisions of counties, formerly the basis of police arrangements, now practically obsolete. Called in the North of England *Wapentakes*.

Impeachment, p. 54. The trial of an obnoxious person, usually a Minister, before the House of Lords on the accusation of the House of Commons. Now practically superseded by a vote of want of confidence, which is sufficient to remove a Minister from Office.

Indian Council, p. 61. A Council in England to advise the Indian Secretary.

Indian Legislative Council, p. 62. A Council in India to advise the Viceroy of India.

Justices of the Peace, p. 77. Unpaid Magistrates appointed by the Lord Chancellor, on the recommendation of the Lords Lieutenant, to administer justice in the counties, and to co-operate with the County Councils in controlling the Police. Justices are called J.P.

Leader of the House of Commons. The Leading Minister sitting in the House of Commons, who directs the Government business in the House. An office unknown to the Law.

Leader of the Opposition. The leading member opposed to the Government of the day, who takes the lead in opposing or criticising Government measures. An office unknown to the Law.

Legislature, p. 31. The body which makes laws. In ordinary language, the two Houses of Parliament.

Letters Patent. Open letters from the Crown empowering a person to do some act or enjoy some right.

Local Government Board, p. 63. A Committee of the Privy Council to superintend the working of the various Local Governments, Poor Law administration, Registration of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, Vaccination, &c. Constituted 1871.

Lord Chancellor, p. 59. Head of the English legal profession. *Ex-officio* private adviser to the Crown. Necessarily a member of the Cabinet, Keeper of the Great Seal, the affixing of which is necessary to the validity of Acts done by the Crown, Speaker of the House of Lords. In the Middle Ages the Chancellor was generally the nearest approach to a Prime Minister.

Lord Chief Justice, p. 70. The head of the Criminal Law, appointed on the recommendation of the Prime Minister.

Lord Lieutenant of a County, p. 98. A titular distinction, conveying nominally the military command in a county, actually some influence in appointing Justices of the Peace and Militia Officers. The head of the Justices for the County.

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, p. 65. The representative of the Crown in Ireland. As a political power practically superseded by his Chief Secretary.

Lord President of the Council, p. 65. A titular office of great dignity, usually conferring a Seat in the Cabinet upon some distinguished member of the party in office who is unwilling to accept heavy official duties. He sometimes acts as Minister of Education in the House of Lords.

Lord Privy Seal, p. 65. An office similar to the above, involving the custody of the Privy Seal, which was essential to the validity of certain Royal Acts.

Lords Spiritual, pp. 8-43. The Archbishops and the twenty-four Bishops who have seats in the House of Lords.

Lords Temporal, pp. 8-43. The Peers of the United Kingdom, all having seats in the House of Lords; the Peers of Scotland and Ireland, whether they have Seats in the House of Lords or not, all being hereditary advisers of the Crown.

Manor, p. 99. An ancient territorial possession, in which the tenants as well as the Lord of the Manor have certain rights by prescription. It was formerly one of the areas for Local Government.

Mayor, p. 102. The chief officer and Magistrate in a Municipal Corporation, elected annually. In London and in York from ancient times, in some other boroughs by recent creation, he is called Lord Mayor.

Municipality, p. 100. A corporate town, or the governing body of a corporate town.

National Debt, p. 88. A capital sum borrowed by the Government at various times, with no obligation for repayment of capital. The payment of interest is provided for by permanent Acts.

Opposition, p. 40. The Party in Parliament which usually acts in opposition to the Government of the day.

Overseers, p. 110-137. Unpaid officers appointed annually by the Parish Councils, to make and collect Poor Rates, give temporary relief to the poor in pressing cases, prepare lists of qualified Jurymen and Voters. Paid Assistant Overseers and Rate Collectors may also be appointed and dismissed by Parish Councils. A qualified person appointed Overseer must act.

Parish Council, p. 107. Small elective Councils to administer the affairs of a parish or parishes, chosen annually under the Local Government Act of 1894. Their action is regulated by this and other Acts of Parliament, and in some cases by the discretion of the County Councils.

Parish Meeting, p. 107. A meeting of the electors of a parish, to elect the Parish Council and to control it in certain cases, and to regulate Parish business under the Local Government Act of 1894. The Parish Council may be considered the executive of the meeting.

Petty Sessions, p. 77. Sitting of Justices of the Peace to dispose of petty civil and criminal business.

Postmaster-General, p. 64. The Minister at the head of the Postal, Telegraph, and Savings Bank business conducted by the Government.

Prerogative pp. 49-57. The rights and powers of the Crown as secured to it by immemorial usage.

Privilege. The rights of the House of Commons as secured to it by usage, its own action, and statute law.

Prime Minister, pp. 55-59. The head of the Ministry, the prime mover in policy and legislation, the person who recommends the choice of other Ministers to the Crown. An office unknown to the law.

Privy Council, p. 66. The Council which formerly advised the Crown; now active only through its Committees (such as the Cabinet, Board of Trade, &c.), the efficient members of which are supporters of the existing Government. Members of the Privy Council are styled Right Honourable.

Prorogation. The suspension of Parliament by Royal Proclamation, putting an end to all current business in Parliament. A Bill not carried to the Royal Assent before a Prorogation must be begun again from the beginning when Parliament reassembles.

Quarter Sessions, p. 77. Sitting of the Justices, or the Recorder in the County Town, or in Boroughs for which there is a Recorder, for hearing cases of not the greatest importance, Appeals from Petty Sessions, and Appeals against Rating and Assessment.

Rates, p. 90. Taxes on real property, *i.e.* houses and land, levied for local purposes by local bodies. They amount to about £29,000,000 a year.

Recorder, p. 71. A local Judge to try criminal cases in the town to which he is appointed.

Revising Barristers, p. 38. Barristers appointed to hear claims and objections with regard to the lists of voters, and empowered to pass final lists subject to approval by the High Court.

School Boards, p. 130. Elective Bodies chosen by the ratepayers to carry out the Education Acts in their several districts.

School Attendance Committee, p. 130. A committee appointed by the Guardians or Town Council to see to the attendance of scholars at school even where no School Board exists. They appoint a School Attendance Officer.

Secretary for India, p. 61. The Minister responsible for the Government of India, acting in conjunction with the Viceroy. Constituted 1858.

Secretary for Ireland, p. 65. The Home Secretary for Ireland, nominally Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant.

Secretary for Scotland, p. 65. The Home Secretary for Scotland. An office revived recently.

Secretary to the Treasury, Patronage, p. 59. Familiarly known as "Whip." His functions are to act as agent between the Government and its supporters in the House, to insure attendance at divisions, and to arrange for "pairs" between members of opposite parties who find it inconvenient to be present at a division. The Financial Secretary to the Treasury is the subordinate of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Secretary for War, p. 62. The Minister responsible for the business of the Army. His office is the War Office. Constituted as a separate office in 1854.

Sheriff, p. 97. Formerly Royal representative in each county. Still nominal head of the executive in the county. A man nominated must serve the office.

Speaker, p. 39. The Presiding Officer, Chairman and Official Spokesman of the House of Commons. Elected by the House for the duration of Parliament.

Standing Orders, of the House of Commons or House of Lords.

Rules laid down by both Houses for the conduct of their own business. In force permanently unless specially changed. Sessional Orders are in force for the Session only.

Stipendiary Magistrates, p. 77. Paid Magistrates appointed to dispose of small cases and preliminary enquiries in large towns.

Taxes, p. 81. Moneys levied by authority of Parliament for public purposes, though historically the name did not include the Customs or Duties on Imports.

Town Councils, p. 102. Elective Councils of Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors for the administration of the affairs of a Municipality.

Township, p. 99. An ancient self-governing local division, often since lost in a Parish or Manor, or developed into a Municipality.

Union, p. 139. A collection of parishes for the administration of the Poor Law. Constituted in 1834.

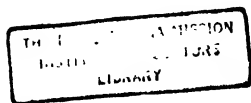
Vestry, p. 99. Formerly the consultative, administrative, and electing assembly of the parish, itself elected by or composed of the ratepayers. Now a meeting of parishioners for ecclesiastical business only in rural parishes, but still exercising its old powers in urban districts. In London it is elected by the body of resident electors, local and parliamentary, not ratepayers only, and practically has become a District Council exercising sanitary powers.

Viceroy of India, p. 61. The Representative of the Crown and chief ruler in India. He exercises executive power, and legislative power with his Council, under the orders of the Indian Secretary. His official title is Governor-General of India.

Vice-President of the Council, p. 63. Practically the Minister of Education, presiding over the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, and superintending the working and inspection of all elementary schools.

Voluntary Schools, p. 131. Schools which to secure special religious teaching are supported by Voluntary subscriptions in place of a School Board Rate. They are inspected and receive Government Grants.

Whip, p. 59. The Patronage Secretary to the Treasury, usually assisted by one of the Junior Lords of the Treasury. *See* Secretary to the Treasury.



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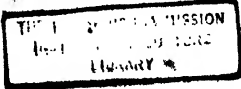
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